THE INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

OLD FORT WILLIAM

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INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

OLD FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL

A SELECTION OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS
DEALING WITH ITS HISTORY

EDITED BY

THE LATE C. R. WILSON, M.A., D.LITT.

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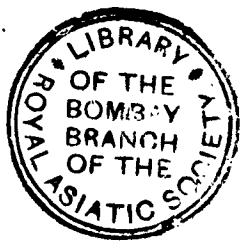
VOL. II.



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253. Measures taken for encouraging the Settlement of Weavers.

Extracts from a Letter from the Private Committee at Bengal to the Court Fort William, January 18, 1754, and from enclosures dated July 3, 5 and 9, 1753. Bengal Letters Received, Vol. II.

By the inclosed Copys of Letters from Mr. Holwell Zemindar Your Honours will have the Satisfaction to Observe that We have not been Unmindful of the orders received last Year from the Gentlemen of the Secret Committee to give all Encouragement for Weavers to come and Resort within Our Precincts. This Method to procure any Vacant Ground We esteem the more Efficacious to prevent All Suspicions of the design it was intended for and by Mr. Holwell's Reply your Honours will Notice that He by Observation when the Ground was Measured takes Notice of a Spot that would be extremely Commodious for the Settlement of the Weavers and which we empowered him to purchase but many Difficulties has Started which has been hitherto a Hindrance to the procuring of that Ground. . . .

July 3: Committee to Holwell.—We . . . apply to you (as having been industriously employed In the Measurement of the Ground belonging to the Company) and Desire you will inform Us If there is any where within Our Bounds a Sufficient Vacant Space for the Number of Weavers In Calcutta and many others to be expected from different Parts of the Country to build Their Habitations on and proper to fix Rooms for the Manufacturing of many different kinds of Cloth. . . .

July 5: Holwell to Committee.—I am to Inform you that by the State of the present measurement . . . you will Observe there remains only 321 Begas of the Honourable Companys Ground Un-Tenanted

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Including the Fort Churches Gardens Cutcherry &c[a] So that there is no Vacant Space in the Bounds any Ways Adequate to the Intention you have in View towards executing the Commands of Our Honourable Masters particularly addressed to you, but to the Southward of and contiguous to our Bounds there is a large and commodious Space of Ground belonging to the Rajah Kissen Chund [Kishnchand] and the Zemindars Monore Roy [Manohar Rāy] Joyram Roy [Jāyarāma Rāy] And Santose Roy Chowdry [Santosh Rāy Chaudhurī] which would in all Respects be extremely proper for the Settlement you intend As it is high in a Clear open Air and in the neighbourhood of Good Water, and so Scituated within the Creek that runs from Surmans Bridge[1] to Callygat [Kālighāṭ] and under the Eye of the principal Guard to the Southward of the Town as to make it liable to no Molestation This Ground I believe may be obtained for the Rent of one Rupee per Bega provided the Use it is intended for is concealed until We gain Possession. . . .

July 9: Committee to Holwell.—We hereby Empower you to purchase the Ground mentioned . . . on Account the Company which as soon as Obtained please to advise us thereof. .

254. The Court urge the Building of Barracks

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, January 23, 1754. *Paragraphs* 30, 63, *and* 68. *Bengal Dispatches, Vol. I.*

30. As Wee have a good Opinion of the Capacity and Integrity of Mr. B. Plaistead and of his Fittness to discharge the Post of Master Attendant, Wee direct that in case of the Death or Absence of Captain Sutton or his not accepting of that Post that Mr. Plaistead do succeed thereto.

63. As Barracks for the Soldiers are absolutely necessary wee hope you gave Orders for Building them upon the Arrival of

[1] The creek is the Ādigangā, at present known as Tolly's Nullah. Surman's Garden was at Kiderpore, at the southern extremity of the settlement. Hence Surman's Bridge corresponds to the present Kidderpore Bridge (see footnote to extract 133).

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Colonel Scott, but if they are not begun you must Consult that Gentleman and sett about them immediately.

68. Wee are fully apprized of the Unkind and Discouraging Reception Mr. Plaistead met with upon his return to Calcutta[1] for no other reason that wee can find than his well meant and Honest endeavours to serve us, But Mr. Macguires Behaviour, if what Mr. Plaistead charges him with is true, was of a Nature that must put an end to our Authority and render our Protection useless unless duely resented. The Charge is that upon his waiting upon Mr. Macguire on his first Arrival he Cut him down with a Sword and almost Murdered him under a Pretence of his having used him ill in England with us. It is very extraordinary that no Enquiry was made into this Affair but Wee are determined it shall not be so lightly passed over Wee therefore Command you to make a full and strict Enquiry into every Circumstance of Mr. Macguire's Behaviour to Mr. Plaistead and Report the whole to us with your impartial Opinion thereupon for our Determination and in the mean time if you find Mr. Macguire Culpable you are to suspend him from our Service and wait for our further Orders.

255. PLACES IN THE FACTORY TO BE CONVERTED INTO GODOWNS FOR THE BROAD CLOTH.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 11, 1754. *Range I., Vol. XXVII.*

The Import Warehouse Keeper acquainting the Board that there are places in the Factory which might be Easily converted into Godowns proper For keeping the Companys Broad Cloth he desires the Board will please to direct it to be done, That the Company may not only be saved the Expence of Renting Godowns but be likewise at a greater Security by keeping their Woolen Goods in their own Factory.

ORDERED the Buxey do set about it immediately.

[1] As Plaisted had been exposing the malpractices of the military paymaster's office, and was restored to his former posts in spite of the Council, it is perhaps not so surprising that they received him coldly, and allowed Mr. Macguire almost to murder him.

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256. Colonel Scott's Project for securing the Settlement to be carried out as soon as possible.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 28, 1754. *Paragraph* 16. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. II.*

Colonell Scott having laid a Project before the Board for Securing this Settlement against any Attacks from a Country Force, which in the present Juncture ought to be guarded against, and as We Imagine the expence of it will not be very considerable, We have Complied with His proposal and Directed him to Set about it as Soon as possible. A Copy of that Project We Transmit your Honours in this Packet, as We did not chuse for the Sake of Secrecy to enter it after our Consultation.

257. Proceedings relative to Fortifications and Buildings in 1754.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, March 8, *March* 11 *and* 18, *April* 1 *and* 8, *May* 6, *June* 3 *and* 17, *June* 18, *July* 25, *August* 8 *and* 22, *and September* 9, 1754. *Range I., Vol. XXVII.*

Scott goes to Madras.

March 8.—Colonel Scott acquaints the Board that though it will be very inconvenient to his private Affairs to leave Bengall at so short a warning, yet as the Gentlemen at the Coast have pressed his going thither as an acceptable peice of Service to the Honourable Company he is very willing to proceed to their Presidency and Requests he may have a proper Conveyance allotted him as soon as possible for that purpose.

Ordered the Master Attendant do prepare the *Syren* Sloop to conduct him thither, and that Mr. John Smith one of our Pilots do Navigate her to Fort St. George and Back. . . .

March 11.—Colonel Scott requesting he may have a Guard to Attend him to the Coast.

Ordered Ensign Scott with a Serjeant Corporal and 16 Men to attend him thither.

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Lieutenant Wells[1] *to carry on the Works planned out by the Colonel.*

March 18.—Colonel Scott being ready to sett out for the Coast and intending to leave this Place in a Day or two desires he may be permitted to give his Instructions to Lieutenant Wells to carry on the Works he has planned out in his absence.

AGREED Lieutenant Wells do carry on those Works agreeable to the Colonel's Instructions.

Scott's Account.

March 18.—Colonel Scott Delivers in an Account of Sundries provided and Expended by him on the Honourable Companys Account with the Amount of his Salary, Gratuity and other Allowances from September to March inclusive Madrass Rupees 6525 . 14 . 6.

AGREED the President do pay the same out of the Cash.

ORDERED his Account be entered after this Consultation.

THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY, DEBTOR TO CAROLINE FREDERICK SCOTT, ESQ., ENGENEIR GENERAL, 1754.

To my Salary at £650 per Annum for month of October to March inclusive 6 Months at 2 . 6 per Old Sicca Rupee	2,600	0	0
272 per Cent.	59	14	6
		2,659	14 6[2]
To Charles Noble's Salary as Secretary for the month of July to March inclusive 9 Months at 80 Rupees per Month		720	0 0
To 2 Inspectors Salary for Months of January February and March at 60 per month each ...		360	0 0
To William Wells Engenier his Salary for October to March inclusive 6 months at 60		360	0 0
To a Writers Wages for Months of October to March inclusive 6 months at 50		300	0 0
To an Interpreter for October to March inclusive 6 Months at 10		60	0 0
To Charges at Vizackapatam,[3] Cost of Musters of Wood, Stone, Chunam, Bricks &c. and Sundry other Incident Charges since my Arrival in Bengall on Companys Service		198	12 0

[1] The author of the plan of Calcutta in 1753, which I here reproduce.

[2] In the Consultations Book this sum is incorrectly given as Rs. 5659.14.6.

[3] Vizagapatam.

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To Cost of Stationary Ware provided for the Engeniers Office				48	8	0
To Ditto of a Pattamar[1] dispatched to Cossimbuzar on the Companys business				6	0	0
To Ditto of a Peice of Wax Cloth, Boxes, Screws, Rollers, and Cotton for Plans sent the Court of Directors				20	0	0
To Charges of Cooleys, Palankeens Staves &c. in taking the Plans sent home as per particular Account Current Rupees 141				128	3	0
To Ditto of erecting 2 new Butts at the Bungalo, and Building Guard Room and Laboratory for the Artillery practice as per Particular Account ...				150	0	0
To cost of several Mathematical Instruments for Engeniers Use as per Particular Account ...				353	0	0
To Ditto of large, Black Wood Bureau, Drawers &c. for the Use of the Engeniers Office				89	8	0
To Work at Baag Buzar[2] for Cost of materials provided Vizt.						
13 Teak Trees as per Particular Account Arcot Rupees	740	0	0			
40 Codallies[3] with Shafts at 1.4 Arcot Rupees each	50	0	0			
91,000 bricks of the English Standard Size at 3.8 Arcot Rupees per 1,000	318	8	0			
115 Baskets	5	0	0			
				1,092	1	0
				6,525	14	6

Errors excepted,
per CAROLINE FREDERICK SCOTT.

CALCUTTA,
The 18th March, 1754.

Settlement of Calcutta.

April 1.—The Zemindar delivers in the English Register of the last Measurement of the Ground in 8 Books, 4 Containing the Particulars of each Days Measurement of the four Quarters. Those of the Daily Measurement of John Nagore &cta out Towns being annexed to the Measurement of Govindpore. And 4 Books

[1] The primary meaning of *pattamār* is 'courier,' and this is probably the meaning here. Later it came to mean 'a lateen-rigged ship.'

[2] Bāg Bāzār, at the northern extremity of Calcutta.

[3] *Kudāl*, a kind of hoe or spade.

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of the Jummabandy[1] one for each Quarter of the Town, Shewing the number of Pottahs and each Persons distinct property and Cost with the Ground Rent and Taxes, the Jummabundy of the out Towns being annexed to that of Govindpore, the Following Abstracts are annexed to the several Books for the easy investigation of the whole Vizt.

Abstract of the Close of each Jummabundy shewing at one View the Number of Pottahs, Houses, costs, &c. in each of the 4 Districts.

General Abstracts of the whole Measurement annexed to the Measurement of Buzar Calcutta to which that of the different Towns is added.

General Abstract from the 4 Jummabundys including the out Towns annexed to the Jummabundy of Buzar Calcutta Shewing under one distinct View the number of Pottahs, houses, &cta in each district with the Amount of Tenanted Ground, Totals of Ground Rent, Taxes &cta and the Particulars of the increase of each on the present measurement.

Abstract of the whole and Part Ground Rent of the four quarters and out Towns following the last mentioned General Abstract.

The Zemindar thinks it is necessary to remark to the Board that there will appear some difference in the Jummabundy compared with his Abstracts laid before the Board in his Letter, of the 23 July 1753 arising from the whole of the Subbeband[2] being deducted in the Jummabundy as liable to contest and from 13B. 1C. of Ground belonging to Rosseharry seat [Rāsbihāri Seṭh] being carried to the head of Heertucky[3] which in the measurement was brought in under that of Tenanted Ground by an Error of the Measurer or rather folly of the Proprietor, who gave no information till lately that he held a Sunnod[4] of that Ground. Upon a further retrospection of the Chitas[5] of Sootanutty and Buzar Calcutta there is also further Credits and Rents from the Warfs

[1] *Jamā-bandī*, assessment, settlement. [2] See note on *rāiyatī* below.

[3] Perhaps this is a mistake for meertucky—i.e., *murta'ī*, pasturing.

[4] i.e., *sanad*, grant.

[5] *Chiṭṭhā*, a memorandum; hence a statement of the measurement of a *zamīndār's* estate founded on actual measurement.

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on B. 3 . 4 . 3 and further increase of Riotty[1] in Sootanutty and Baag Buzar and B2 . 18 . 8 discovered by a fresh Measurement of the Ground belonging to one Bechumundel and from mistakes in casting up the measuring Chittahs. As also 17 Cottah of Ground being brought in under the head of Subbeband which ought to have been under that of Riotty.

Report of the Chints Godowns.

April 8.—The Buxey delivers in Mr. Plaisted's Report of the Chints Godowns with an Estimate of its Expence to be repaired thoroughly.

ORDERED it be entered after this Day's Consultation and

AGREED that only the space imagined Sufficient for printing the Chints be repaired as cheaply as possible. . . .

TO THE HONOURABLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQR., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR OF FORT WILLIAM, &C., COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

In Obedience to your Honour &ct[as] Commands I now deliver in my Report of the State of the Godowns fronting the Colonels and Mr. Collets Houses,[2] and further as near as possible an Estimate to put them in Repair

First as to the Condition they are in; the whole Building is 295 Feet long which being divided into 27 Rooms has only 7 Small ones in tolerable order; of the other Twenty, twelve want new Beams, Burgers, and Terracing, the remaining Eight are so demolished that they must be entirely built new; in short the whole are in a very ruinous State which I fear will make the Expence turn out very large, especially as to Beams which I apprehend will be difficult to be got without we use Teak for all the Rooms are 15 Foot broad which will require Beams 19 Feet long and I know of none such in Calcutta of other Wood.[3]

BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED.

CALCUTTA,
The 15th September, 1753.[4]

---

[1] *Rāiyatī*, belonging to a *rāiyat*, land of which the revenue is paid in money. It is in this sense opposed to *khamar*, land of which the revenue is paid in kind. As *subbeb* is here similarly opposed to *rāiyatī*, we may perhaps infer that *subbeb* is equivalent to *khamar*.

[2] See footnote to extract 249 above.

[3] Here follows an estimate of bricks, chunam, bamboos, beams, etc., required for the work.

[4] Why the consideration of this report was so long delayed does not appear.

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Catwall Prison[1] *to be enlarged.*

May 6.—The Zemindar represents to the Board that the Catwall Prison is at present in a very unwholesome condition and that there is not half sufficient room for the Felons.

AGREED he be permitted to raise the floor of the Catwall Prison and enlarge it by the Addition of another Room.

Death of Colonel Scott.

June 3.—By the *Syren* Sloop who arrived the 29th ultimo we received two Letters from the President and Council of Fort St. George one dated the 8th May acquainting us that Colonel Scott intended to return to us by that Sloop. . . .

The other Letter was dated the 16th May advising us of Colonel Scott's Death of a Fever the 12th instant.[2] . . .

Captain Minchin's Request for the Gunpowder Contract.

June 17.—Captain Minchin sends in a Letter requesting he may have the Contract for Gun Powder upon the same terms as Colonel Scott. . . .

Hospital to be surveyed.

July 18.—Messrs. Gray and Fullerton reporting that the Hospital is in a bad Condition and requesting the same may be repaired.[3] . . .

Mr. William Wells to be advanced from 500 *to* 1,000 *Rupees at a Time.*

July 25.—Mr. William Wells sends in a Petition for an advance of money to carry on the works at Perrins,

[1] I understand the *kotwāl* prison to be not the 'town jail' in Lāl Bāzār, but the '*harinbārī* jail' to the north of Tirretta Bāzār (see extract 212). The name is preserved in the Hurrinbara Lane of to-day, which runs northwards past the Jewish Cemetery into Kolootola Street.

[2] Scott's death is noted in the manuscript army list of 1752. The vacancy in the 29th Foot was filled on June 18, 1755, by the appointment of Lieutenant Lord Frederick Cavendish of the 2nd Foot. Scott's will, dated March 20, 1754, is in *Bengal Wills*, 1751-60.

[3] No order is recorded on this subject, but a report is sent in July 25.

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AGREED he be advanced from 500 to 1,000 Rupees at a time.[1] . . .

Hospital to be repaired.

July 25.—The Buxey delivers in a report of the Hospitall pursuant to our orders.

ORDER'D the said report be enter'd after this day's Consultation and that the Buxey do repair the Hospitall on the most reasonable terms. . . .

TO THE HONOURABLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQR., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &C[a], COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Agreeable to your Honours orders in persuance of the Doctors report of the Hospitall I have taken a carefull survey thereof as follows—The Door Frames and Windows are almost all so bad that they must be chang'd, The South West and by West part of the Hospitall Especially that w[h]ere the Lightning struck it is so very bad that Borgaes having given way and the Beams and the Burgers gone that if new Buttresses is not speedily put that part will fall down, The Westerly Wall has bellied out two feet notwithstanding the Beams and Burgaes are supported with Estanchions that there is an absolute Necessity to buttress them Immediately to keep the Wall standing, the North East End of the Hospitall is crack'd in Number of Places and the Arches given way and severall of the Burgurs and Beams falling so that part must likewise be buttress'd to keep it from falling, the whole Hospitall must be speedily white-wash'd and Plaisterd as being entirely a Cutcha building shou'd the Rains get into the Walls it will carry all the mud from between the Bricks and in Danger of the whole.

I am with Respect,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

PAUL RICHARD PEARKES,

Buxey.

---

[1] The following payments to Wells are noted in the Cash Accounts:

May 20	420	14	3	in the Cash Account for	May.
June 3	442	8	9	,,	,,	June.
July	473	6	0	,,	,,	July.
August	495	8	9	,,	,,	August.
September ...	880	0	0	,,	,,	September.
October 7 ...	310	6	0	,,	,,	October.
November 14 ...	374	9	0	,,	,,	November.
December 2 ...	333	10	6	,,	,,	December.

Also in the October Cash Account we have: 'Paid Mr. Noble 2 months salary as Secretary to the late Colonel Scott and as Inspector of the Works—Rs. 308.'

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The District of Simla[1] *farmed by the Company.*

August 8.—Mr. Holwell delivers in a Letter to the board with a proposal of Farming Account the Company the District of Similia, and its appurtenances which appearing very advantageous to the Company

AGREED Mr. Holwell be permitted to farm that district for them and as there are some claims thereon

AGREED we detain such part of the rent in our hands in case of those subsequent Claims proving to be legal. . . .

TO THE HONOURABLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQR., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &c[a], COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

From my first taking Charge of my Office nothing has so much been matter of Chagrine to me or more employed my attention than the consideration of the Independent Districts commonly called Simlea and Molonga situated In and Blended with the very heart of our settlement a Circumstance that ever has and ever must on this footing be the Source of many Contests and disturbances, to say nothing of a much weightier Consideration, The Honour of our Employers which suffers in my Judgement no small Diminution from this distinct Jurisdiction over the most valueable part of their settlement, These considerations Urged me from time to time to attempt every laudable means to obtain the then independant districts being assimilated with the rest of our Honourable masters possessions and the present conjecture [? conjuncture] has favoured me with success, as to that of Simlea with its dependants Maacund [Makonda] and Koolea [Kulia] having the pleasure to inform your Honour &c[a] that I have obtained from the Proprietors of those Towns a regular Pottah, and full Investiture thereof for the Honourable Company, revocable on our part, irrevocable on theirs, so that it still lies in your breast whether you will accede thereto, though I trust I shall meet your concurrence in a matter so much to our Honourable Masters Credit and advantage the whole amount of the ground is about 2,245 Begas exclusive of about Begas 116 appropriated to Bramins and Religious Uses, Simlea and Maacund (which are contigious and) blended with our settlements contain about 1,452 Begas, which is almost as much as 1/3d. of our possessions, Koolea contains the remaining 909 Begas, and is joined to our out Town called Pagla Danga the possession of which will be of considerable advantage to us regarding that out Town, and put a stop to endless disputes, relative to the Imports at both places the stipulated Rent to be paid annually by the Company for the farming of the whole as specified in the Pottah, is Sicca Rupees 2,281: and the Annual Collection account ground Rent &c[a] about

[1] Simla, a quarter in the north of Calcutta, about Cornwallis Street and Cornwallis Square.

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Sicca's 2,680 exclusive of all Charges whatever, and will I dare say be much more considerable under our Government. Having thus laid the whole of my Negotiations on this Interesting affair before your Honours &c[a] I must not neglect to inform you also, there are two spurious claims made to this ground, One of 6/16ths by the Zemindar Nundoo Duloll Roy Chowdry and the other of 8/16ths by Nianchund Dutt one of the Tenants, but as I have (I think with the utmost circumspection) made enquiry into the nature of these Claims I think myself well warranted in assuring you they have no proof to support them or any foundation that does not arise from oppressions, on the proprietors, from which it is encumbent on us to defend Them, as having been the most Early Tenants of our Honourable masters, though we had no other motive for so doing.

I am with respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most Obedient Humble Servant,
J. Z. HOLWELL,
Zemindar.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 8th August, 1754.

Ground at Govindpoor to be purchased to reestablish the Market there.

August 22.—The Zemindar represents to the board that by the Encroachments of the river at Govindpoor that space where the market was kept is 3/5 washed away and requests their leave to purchase Ground from the Proprietors in the Neighbourhood to reastablish the markett that the Company may not lose the Annual advantage of that Farm.

AGREED the Zemindar do purchase Ground for that purpose on the most reasonable terms.

Cost of repairing the Catwall Prison.

September 9.—The Zemindar delivers in the particulars of the Expence of building the new room in the Catwal Prison and repairing the old one amounting to Current Rupees 1138.10.9 which the Account Revenues stand indebted for.

258. DEATH OF COLONEL SCOTT.

Extracts from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, September 9, 1754. *Paragraphs* 32 *and* 34. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. II.*

32. When Colonell Scott proceeded to the Coast he requested We would permit Lieutenant Wells to carry on the Works he had

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Plan'd at Perrins in his absence which We Accordingly complied with.[1]

34. Colonel Scott in consequence of Mr. Saunders and his Council's request already mention'd for Relieving Major Lawrence in the field, left us on the 18th March for that end, but it is with Concern We inform your Honours he died at Madrass on the 12th of May of a Violent Fever. His decease Occasioning a Vacancy We gave the Command of his Company to Captain John Buchanan Agreable to your Honours Orders.

259. WORKMEN WANTED AT PERRIN'S POINT.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, November 14, 1754. *Range I., Vol. XXVII.*

Messrs. Wells and Drake send in a Letter to the Board, setting forth that the Works at Perrins are at a stand for want of workmen who live at a great distance and begging leave to allow them ten Gundas a day Extraordinary for Diet money as it will be fully made up to the Company by their not being so long absent at Dinner.

AGREED we comply with their request.

[1] In paragraph 43 the Council remark that they have sent Mr. McGwire a copy of the paragraph from the Court's letter concerning him (see extract 254 above). They state that the case was laid before a 'Bench of Justices in 1752.' McGwire pleaded guilty, was reprimanded, and fined. His action in murderously assaulting Plaisted was as 'unthinking and rash'! He had since given every satisfaction, and the Council therefore begged the Court to 'mitigate their resentment against him.' The Council, it should be noted, had been ordered to suspend McGwire if found culpable. Their action, therefore, according to their own account of it, shows gross partiality and disregard of the Court's orders on the subject. In their General Letter of December 7, 1754, the Council at Bengal wrote openly in defence of McGwire. He came to Calcutta to vindicate himself, but he found that the depositions taken before the Council as a Bench of Justices were lost! Two of his principal witnesses were dead. It appeared to the Council at the time that Mr. Plaisted was, in a great measure, the aggressor by treating Mr. McGwire 'abusively'—the old story of the wolf and the lamb. Their account of the affair is so different from Plaisted's that they consider it is sufficient to exculpate McGwire for his disregard of the Company's orders. Plaisted, however, continued dissatisfied. In November he was suspended by the Council for insubordination, and went home to vindicate his character (see extract 270, Vol. II., p. 37).

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260. GODOWNS AND COMPOUND NEAR THE RIVER PURCHASED.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, November 25, 1754. Range I., Vol. XXVII.

There being a compound and Godowns belonging to the seats[1] to be sold this day at Outcry which lies near the River side and is very Commodious for Warehouses or Magazines we agreed to purchase the same on Account the Honourable Company which we accordingly did for Current rupees 4,500.

261. THE COURT APPROVE OF COLONEL SCOTT'S PROJECT, AND ORDER IT TO BE CARRIED OUT.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, November 29, 1754 (paragraphs 31-52), and from Separate Letter to the President of Fort William, Colonel Scott, and Mr. Charles Manningham of the same Date.

31. As Wee are desirous of having the Fortifications and Works at Fort William begun and carried on without Loss of Time wee make use of this first opportunity since the Receipt of Collonel Scotts Letters noticed in the beginning of this Letter to send you our Directions and Sentiments on this Subject; Although wee choose to convey them thro' the propper Channel of a General Letter they are to operate in as full and effectual a manner as if they were particularly addressed to our Engineer General and you are accordingly to communicate them as well as all others relative to this Subject from time to time to Collonel Scott or whomsoever else they may concern being intended as Instructions Directions and Authoritys as well for that Gentleman as you our President and Council.

32. Upon carefully attending to the Project for Amending and enlarging Fort William as contained in a letter from Collonel Scott dated the 6th of January 1754 and upon inspecting the Planns therein referred to wee entirely agree with him in Opinion that the present Scituation of Fort William is to be preferred to any other either down the Stream towards Gobinpore or up the River towards Perrin Point and in general wee approve of Collonel

[1] Most probably the compound and buildings belonging to Rāsbihāri Seṭh and his brother, shown at the junction of the creek with the river in the plan of Calcutta by Wells in 1753.

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Scotts Project as well in point of Scituation as the several Alterations and Additions to the present Works which wee would have carried into execution accordingly, wee are sencible in the Progress of the work. New thoughts may arise and some Alterations and Deviations from the Plann may be found necessary yet as we hope they will not be very material wee do empower you and Collonel Scott to execute his Plann with such Alterations as shall be thought necessary but notwithstanding anything in the foregoing Directions You are hereby ordered not to begin or make any Progress in the beforementioned Fortifications and Works until you have the Sentiments Leave and Concurrence of the President of Fort William and Chief of Cossimbuzar for the time being allso of Lieutenant Collonel Scott and Mr. Charles Manningham to whome wee have given some particular Instructions on this Subject in a letter of this Days Date directed to those Gentlemen only—in the absence of Collonel Scott the other Three Gentlemen are hereby empowred to act and carry into Execution the said Instructions.

33. We are sencible of the Difficulty of making an Estimate to any Degree of certainty of the charge of the Works Projected by Collonel Scott but wee hope the further Experience that Gentleman must have gained with regard to the Prizes of Materials and Labour will have enabled him to send us one by the Ships of the following Season, if not we must desire he will form and send us one as soon as he can, wee shall consider it as an Estimate only and make all due allowances accordingly.

34. Wee observe Collonel Scott laid a Project before the Board for securing our Settlement from any Attacks from the Country Forces which you were of Opinion in the present Juncture ought to be guarded against especially as the Expence would not be considerable and that you had therefore approved of it, and given him Directions to set about it accordingly, We have considered the said Project dated the 11th of February 1754 and Examined the Planns referred to and upon the whole think You have acted very right in consenting to its being carried into Execution.

35. As it appears the enclosing Calcutta according to this Project might be finished in one Season (so much being already done to your hands and having very little Buildings of either

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Brick or Wood to erect) wee shall expect to hear by your next advices that it is very near if not entirely compleated.

36. It being of great importance to the Company that the great Sums of Money which will be unavoidably expended upon the Works should be applied propperly and honestly Wee therefore expect and Direct that you do in concert with Collonel Scott or in his Absence with whoever else he shall have authorized to act as his Representative consider of and fix upon a propper Method for carrying on Fortifications and Works Honestly Frugally and Effectively, Although wee cannot so well Form a Plann of such Method as you who are on the Spott yet the following Articles must make a part of it and be punctually complied with.

37. Collonel Scott is to be present at every Consultation whenever any Affairs relative to the Fortifications and Works are under consideration and in particular at the purchase of all Materials.

38. Wee absolutely forbid the Paymaster Storekeeper or any other of our Servants whatsoever Furnishing Bricks, Chunam, Timber or any other Materials whatsoever on their own Private Accounts directly or indirectly.

39. You are to give all fitting Encouragement for the Importation into your Bounds of all sorts of Materials as well as for the making of Bricks by as many different Persons as possible and you are with the utmost care to prevent all Monopolys of Materials.

40. You are to give Publick Notice that you will receive Proposals in writing at Boards to be held for the Purpose from all Persons indifferently (our own Servants excepted) who are willing to furnish you with Materials of all kinds and the Person or Persons who offer at the lowest Rates provided the Materials are good are to be contracted with.

41. You are to Purchase no Bricks but of such a Size as Collonel Scott or his Delagates shall approve of which wee are informed should measure when Burnt 11 Inches long, 5½ Inches Broad and 2½ inches thick.

42. If Collonel Scott or any Person or Persons acting under his Authority shall find any Material Bad insufficient or which shall be deemed not fit for use they are to absolutely Reject and

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return them and you are to gett them replaced or Paid for by the Person or Persons of whome you Purchased them.

43. The Paymasters Storekeepers Buxeys or whoever else shall have the care of Materials are to furnish Collonel Scott or his Delegates with such as they shall want from time to time for immediate Expence who are to keep propper Accounts of them, however you are to give Collonel Scott or his Delegates such Directions for keeping those Accounts as may make them coincide with your General Books.

44. Collonel Scott is to employ as many Engineers to assist in carrying on the Works as he shall think necessary consistent with a Prudent Frugality and upon his fixing upon any Person or Persons Quallifyed for that Station which he is hereby Authorized to do on all Vacancys You are to appoint them accordingly unless you have Material Objections to the Contrary and wee hereby confirm the Appointment of Messrs. Barker and Wells to be Engineers and of all such others as Collonel Scott has found to be propper Subjects.

45. No Person is to be employed or paid as an Engineer although recommended or appointed by you without the Approbation of Colonel Scott.

46. You are to Regulate all Payments of Workmen and for Materials in a just and equitable manner and take particular care that no Dishonest Gains are made by any of our Servants in the Exchainge of Money or in any other Shape whatsoever.

47. As wee have a great Opinion of the Abilitys as well as of the Integrity of Collonel Scott you are to give all due attention to such Observations as he shall at any time lay before you tending to the Companys advantage, and laying aside all Selfish Views, You are upon Fair and Candid Examination to carry them into Execution so far as they relate to the Conducting in a more regular Manner not only the Business of his particular Department of Engineer General but any other Branches of our Affairs.

48. Collonel Scotts Assistants are to be Assisted and supported in the Execution of all such Orders and Instructions as he shall from time to time think necessary to give them which are not repugnant to the Companys Interest.

49. You are to provide a House or convenient Apartments for

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Collonel Scott at our expence during his Residence in Bengal or make him a reasonable Allowance in Money for one.

50. You are with Collonel Scott to consider the Abilitys and Services of such Assistants who shall or may be employed under him and give them all fitting and due Encouragement but wee earnestly recommend it both to you and Collonel Scott to consider the present Scituation of the Company and Confine such Allowances within the most reasonable Bounds.

51. As the Works at your Presidency will be of great Utility to the Inhabitants in General it is highly reasonable they should bare some part of the Expence of them, Wee therefore direct that you immediately take into Consideration what New or Additional Duty or Dutys can be levyed on Imports and Exports or in any other shape whatsoever that shall appear the most equal in general and least Burthensome on the Poorer Sort of Inhabitants and you are to levy a reasonable Duty accordingly and carry the Produce thereof to Account in your General Books under a New Head, and you are to Levy such Duty until you have our orders to discontinue it.

52. Wee find you have taken Mr. O'Hara one of the Young Engineers who went out under the care of the late Mr. Robbins into our Service as a Covenant Servant a Step which you had no Authority for without our particular Directions, and as Wee are in want of Engineers and are satisfyed by Accounts wee have had of him as well from Collonel Scott as others that he will be of most use to us in that Capacity wee cannot Agree as yet to admit him upon the Line of Covenant Servants at Bengal or elsewhere and therefore until further orders he is to continue under the Direction of Colonel Scott, but he may be assured and so may the other Young Gentlemen in the like Scituation wee mean such as wee appointed Assistants to Mr. Robbins that when they are admitted upon the Line of Covenant Servants they shall Rank agreeable to our Promise.

Separate Letter.—You will observe by our General Letter to the President and Council of this Days Date that wee have approved of Collonel Scott's Project for Fortifying Fort William and have Directed that it be carried into Execution, but at the same time wee have ordered that they do not begin or make any Progress in

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the Works until they have your Sentiments Leave and Concurrence The reason of this restriction arises from our apprehensions that if they are begun without the previous Consent of the Country Government or at least such a Connivance as you shall judge will be as effectual as their Consent, wee may expend great Sums of money and either be entirely prevented from Finishing them or lye at their Mercy for leave to proceed at an Expence not to be Borne, That these Apprehensions are not without foundation appears by Collonel Scott's Letter to us of the 2d of March last in which wee are informed that the French had been stopt for two Years and upwards from finishing their Projected Works for the Security of Chandenagore.

In order therefore for obtaining a Propper Grant or Connivance from the Country Government for leave to fortifye Fort William without any Obstructions or Impediment you are hereby directed to make such Applications to the Nabob and the Members of his Durbar as you shall judge will be most likely to be attended with Success, and as wee are sencible no Favours can be obtained from such a Mercenary Government as that of Bengal without Money wee do empower you to Dispose of any Sums to the Nabob and to such others as you shall think propper provided the several Sums so to be Disbursed do not altogether exceed One hundred thousand Rupees. The Manner of Conducting this Affair wee shall leave entirely to your Discretion and shall only say that the Great Age of the Nabob and the present emptyness of his Coffres seem to be circumstances greatly in favour of an immediate Application being attended with Success.

When you have obtained a propper Grant or Connivance for carrying on the Works you are to acquaint the President and Council therewith and you are then to Concur with them in every Measure that shall be necessary for carrying Collonel Scotts Plann into immediate Execution. . . .

In the Application with regard to the Fortifications the propper use must be made of the Right wee apprehend the Royal Phirmaunds have conveyed to us for carrying on what Works wee think propper in the Places thereby granted to us, You must at the same time make the Government sencible that wee have no Intentions to render our selves Formidable to them but that our

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only View in Erecting any Works is to Protect our Property against the Attempts and Designs of any European Powers, which at the same time may be the means of preserving the Tranquillity of the countrey in general. . . .

262. Account of Works in 1754.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 7, 1754. Paragraphs 125-128. Bengal Letters received, Vol. II.

125. Mr. Holwell on the 1st April deliver'd into the Board an English register of the Measurement of the Ground to which days Consultation We beg leave to refer your Honours for his Remarks thereon.

126. The Catwall Prison being represented to us by Mr. Holwell as very unwholesome from the lowness of its floor, and that it was too small for the Number of Prisoners confined therein, We gave him leave to raise the Floor and Enlarge the Room which has been accordingly done and your Honours Revenues debited for the Amount.

127. On the 8th August Mr. Holwell in a Letter to the Board informed us he had been at Some pains to prevail upon the Proprietors of a Spot of Ground called Similia to Rent it to your Honours for the Sum of Current Rupees 2281 which he requested Our permission to take on your Account as its Situation (being a part of Calcutta in a manner itself) had many Advantages, and its Revenues yielded in its present Management more than the Sum We should pay, and he did not doubt would produce Considerably more when in Our hands. We have Accordingly given him leave to take Possession but as there are Since Contested Claims to the Ground, We have not as yet been able to Settle it, but when We do We shall duly advise your Honours.

128. Some part of the Market at Govindpoor being carried away by the encroachments of the River We permitted Mr. Holwell to purchase a further Spot for that use.

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263. Suggestions by Orme as to the Fortifications of Calcutta.

Extract from a Letter enclosed in another from Orme to John Payne. Madrás, November 8, 1754. *Miscellaneous Letters received,* 1754-55, *Vol. XXXVIII.*

Sir,—I herewith deliver you the Paper I wrote at Mr. Robbins Request concerning the Office of Jemindar at Calcutta,[1] which, as I have intrusted to your own Discretion to shew in England to such as you may think capable of making a proper use of the Intelligence, I shall now add what more that paper promis'd, which the untimely death of Mr. Robbins prevented my explaining to him either by Conversation or in writing. . . .

I think that the bounds of Calcutta of which the Company have a very good plan drawn by Mr. Plaisted ought to be divided into seven equal districts to begin from the River side and to be carried on in a straight Line as well as the Interruptions of Buildings and enclosures will admit as far back as the bounds extend. . . .

The Company's Settlement of Calcutta is Situated upon a bow of the River Ganges the Points of which are Salmons Garden to the Southward and Perrings Garden to the Northward. Our bounds extend inland in a kind of Curve too, the greatest Distance of which from the River is about a Mile and a Quarter. About ten years ago upon the incursions of the Morratoes the Merchants were so alarm'd that at their own Expence they propos'd to dig a Ditch round the Bounds and of the Earth to form a Rampart within it, and Accordingly in a hurry finish'd 3/4ths of it, I believe there remains a mile to carry it down to the River, it having turn'd the Southermost Angle of our Bounds—tho' this Ditch and Rampart are no ways answerable to their Intent of defending the Bounds yet had they been finished quite down to the River as they are to the Norward with Openings at the great Roads which lead into the Town it most certainly would have proved excellent

[1] On November 8, 1754, Robert Orme wrote to John Payne from Madras apologizing for his delay, and enclosing, *first*, the account of the office of *zamīndār* in Calcutta, written at the request of Mr. Robins, and dated Fort St. David, June 20, 1751; and, *secondly*, a letter, apparently addressed to Mr. Payne, and of the same date as the covering letter, an extract from which is here given.

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means of Levying with great Exactness the Customs on all inland Importations.

Mr. Robbins told me when he return'd from Bengall that he intended to carry on this Ditch into the Moat of the Citadel he design'd to build, a little above Salmon's Garden; and by deepning it propos'd to make it defensible till the Principal Inhabitants with their most valuable Effects could retire into this new Fort. So that whether or no the Engineer that succeeds Mr. Robbins pitches upon the same place, it is evident that with an eye only to the security of the Colony this Ditch ought to be carried on down to the River and when the Advantage and Ease it will afford to all the Imposts on Goods brought out of the Country is likewise consider'd, I think there cannot be the least Hesitation about executing it immediately.

264. PROCEEDINGS IN 1755.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, March 10, *May* 5 *and* 12, *August* 4, *August* 20, *and August* 25, *and September* 1, 1755. *Range I., Vol. XXVIII.*

Ground belonging to Nyanchund paid for.

March 10.—The Zemindar Acquaints the Board that the Redoubt at Perrins was built on a spot of Ground belonging to Nyandchundutt [Nyayandchand Datta] who had applied to him for the Value of the said Ground which he Estimated to be worth about 700 Current Rupees.

AGREED the President do pay Nyandchundutt that sum out of the Cash.

Captain Plaisted's Letter to the Board.

May 5.—Captain Bartholomew Plaisted sends in a Letter to the Board complaining of the Injustice done him in that Paragraph of our general Letter to the Honourable Company per *Montford* in Relation to Mr. McGuires Behaviour to him on his Arrival from England and requesting a Copy of Mr. McGuires Letter of the 28th September.

ORDERED . . . the Secretary to give him a Copy of his Letter.

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Zemindar's Minute about the Tank.

May 12.—The Zemindar begs leave to represent to the Board the State of the great Tank to the Southward of the Park which is so much damaged and wore away that the Houses now inhabitted by Messrs. Becher Collett and Nixon become greatly endangered it has had several Repairs to no purpose while Horses and People are suffered to wash in it and as this tank might not only be made for a small Expence a Great Ornament to the Settlement but a most useful Reservoir of Water for the Poor the Year Round he requests the Board will Please to give him permission to repair and Inclose this Tank and prohibit the Washing of Horses and People therein this Latter Practice making the Tank at times so offensive there is no passing over to the southward or northward.

ORDERED him to repair it accordingly.

Seven Cottahs of Ground paid for.

AGREED he [the President] do pay Govindram Metre for 7 Cottahs of Ground at 25 Rupees per Cottah amounting to current Rupees 175 made use of in the Fortifications at Perrins.

Captain Minchin ordered to survey the Works.

August 4.—As the Honourable Company in their Letter seemed to be apprehensive of a War in Europe and have ordered us to be upon our Guard We sent for Captain Minchin and ordered him to make a survey of the Works and report what he may think necessary to be immediately done for the Defence of the Place in Case of a War.

Captain Jones's Letter to the Board.

August 4.—Captain Jasper Leigh Jones now sends in a Letter to the Board in relation to the Defence of this Settlement which was accordingly read.

ORDERED his Letter to be entered after this Days Consultation. . . .

TO THE HONOURABLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQ, PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR OF FORT WILLIAM, &c^{a}, COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

It is with pleasure I hear the Honourable Court of Directors has earnestly recommended unto you an Inspection in General regarding the Buildings Military and Fortifications &c^{a}.

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As your Honour &c[a] has not thought proper to employ me and my intentions are to go to the Coast of Cormandel as well as it happens to be my Tour of Duty with the Leave of the Honourable the President and Council as I think I must be of more Service to my Honourable Employers provided the War should Continue.

I think it is my Duty as the Honourable the Court of Directors has sent me out their Captain of Artillery to study every thing for the good of their Service and hope in which Occupation any small Regulations I should most humbly Recommend to your Honour &c[a] will not be taken amiss I presume thus far According to the Rules and Regulations of the Year 1748 when your Captain of Artillery is appointed your chief Engineer which has been Regarded at every settlement but this (Viz[t].) Captain Broyere at Madrass on the Death of Mr. Robins D. Panque at Bombay. . . .[1]

It is true Colonel Scott had all and every employment under his care which was the Reasons (with the great Abillities as well as the Esteem the World in General justly had for that Gentleman) the Honourable the Court of Directors gave no directions who should succeed him either for to Continue what has been begun or put into Execution what might afterwards be erected.

In the Method I perceive the Plan in Regard to the Inward Works may by the Order of the Honourable the Court of Directors be put in Execution but as there is no Positive Order to go to work on that it is necessary now we should think for the good of the Place we are Intrusted with as well as the property of our Proprietors and our Honourable Masters who Employ us (Meaning towards Defence).

As there is a Probability of a French War in Europe and no Determination in Regard to the Peace on the Coast of Cormandel *First*, towards the Country Enemy we will suppose their Interest for our Continuation will be sufficient, the Loss of the Revenue to the Honourable Company for what Goods are run Annually into Calcutta in the time of War till the Outward Ditch can be Compleated which at the present Period ought to be laid aside there is none to fear However your Honour &c[a] are the best Judges.

Secondly, If we should be attacked by our general Enemy the French and a War in Europe the River is the only Place which we must turn our Eyes towards upon which it is necessary to draw these few Observations.

First, There is no Reflection so bad to a Governour altho Civil and no great Matters to be expected from him Military to be caught in his Garrison unguarded or a place taken where there might be even a shew of Defence for on one Hand it will be always looked on Want of Care and Duty to our Employers, On the other if Diligent he has done all Man could do but was overpowered by Strength.

Secondly, Where Preparations Military Dilligence and Necessary Advice is to be had the Place ought to be provided for Defence.

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[1] Here follow three paragraphs concerning the writer's own grievances at not being employed as engineer.

Touching the Defence of the Place Provided a General War which is what we have to expect it is Natural to expect the Enemy will attack this Place and in order to do this send some Ships of War into the River whose Coming near the Town must be Carefully avoided.

In this Case I humbly conceive it would be necessary to erect a facine Battery as near the Bounds or within them (towards Mr. Holwell's Garden) as we shall find most Convenient this may Annoy the Enemy another or two at the most Convenient Places within two thirds Distance of the Town and made to bear down that Reach so that the Enemy may meet with three Oppositions None of those Batterys to be mounted with less than six or Eight Eighteen Pounders besides four field Pieces of three Pounders to Defend each of them with a small Ditch Parapet and Rampart in their Rear provided they should be attacked by any small Party of the Enemy that may have landed for that purpose.

It is certain the Honourable the Court of Directors has been always of Opinion that if ever Calcutta was attacked it must be by some Means from the River and they like prudent Experienced and good Masters have provided their Servants in time with the best Guns they could procure which by their Nature are for Defence and not for Sale lying on the Warfs unmounted from their landing to this day.

How far we have regarded their Hint I can't say as we have neither a carriage to mount any of them on or even a Gun already mounted in the Garrison fit for Service and am very sorry I must be obliged to Confess we seem to look more like a ruined and deserted Moor's Fort than any Place in Possession of Europeans much less a Principal Settlement.

It is Certain these Batterys we have already Mentioned would in some Measure terrify the Enemy or at least do some Damage to their Ships before they could reach the Town.

The next Consideration must be the well Repairing the Line Wall which at present is of no use.

This the sooner it was set about the better whether we have to do with an Enemy or not as it at present shows a Sloth and Idleness which makes us in some Measure the Ridicule of our Neighbours not having on the whole Line an Embrazure fit to Receive a Gun or a Carriage able to hold one.

I am sorry this last Article leads me in Vindication of myself to declare (for fear it may be asked who was your Captain of Artillery after the Loss of your Settlement) that I have not the Inspection of either Making or Repairing of any Military Machine nor the Directions of their Meanest Workman.

The most effectual manner for repairing the Line of Guns and what would last for some time at least four or five Years in which time the Pleasure of our Honourable Masters must be known from Europe, Facines would be the Cheapest and best for Defence as well for this as the Batterys proposed they will keep the Men from Danger and be better secured than any Merloins built with Brick or Stone being well picketted and turfed which should be done by the Artillery people allowing them a small Gratuity.

What Guns can be mounted in the two Bastions by the River side ought

likewise to be kept in good order with their Platforms and Embrazures Repair'd, as they would be of Infinite use being so much higher than the Guns of the Line and Wharfe Wall.

It is true there might be many Objections made towards erecting the Batterys above proposed there can be but one in my Opinion of any very Material Consequence which is after leaving those Batterys provided they don't effectually destroy the Enemy our own Guns may be used against us to this it is my Opinion that they Cant as it must be the Particular Care of the Officer who Commands to see the Guns well spiked before he quits his Battery which will Render them useless for some time.

And it is always to be supposed that the Enemy if they come near the Town and should have an Opportunity of Landing Troops it will not be long before they send Guns on shore from their Ships sufficient to batter in Breach provided your Fort was Capable of Defence to Require it.

It is true we have Nothing very material to fear from Chandernagore or else there might be a Battery Erected between the Fort and Perrin's which would answer as a Guard with a Chowkee to Examine every vessel that Came from above for it will not be surprising to find our Enemy taking the Advantage of the Colours of the Dutch Danes and Portugueze and likewise trading on their Bottoms. . . .[1]

Captain Jones's Letter considered.

Upon taking Captain Jones Letter into Consideration the board are of Opinion it is very irregular and taxing Colonel Scott with Indolence who had a View of the Posture of our Works and thought proper to let them remain till he had received effectual orders to put the Plan he had sent Home in Execution and the Committee appointed by the Company will no doubt be Watchfull agreeable to the Instructions they have Received immediately from our Honourable Masters.

ORDERED the Secretary to acquaint Captain Jones that the Board Esteem his Letter irregular improper and unnecessary and that the necessary orders touching the State and Defence of the Place have been issued to his superior Officer To whom he ought to have applied if he had any thing Material to offer.

[1] The remainder of the letter is concerned with the employment of fire-ships in the river, the use of the militia for manning the batteries, and the employment of additional men for purposes of defence.

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Mr. Plaisted to take charge of the Works.

20th August, 1755.—Lieutenant William Wells having departed this Life[1]

AGREED Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted be appointed to overlook the Works formerly under Mr. Wells' Care. . . .

Representation concerning the Waterside.

August 25.—He [the *zamīndār*] likewise Represents the bad Condition of the Water side Road from the Cotmahs Houses to Hautcola Gaut comprising a space of about 460 Yards which is now become impassable to any Carriage and desires the Board will be pleased to take the same into Consideration.

ORDERED him to repair it and to Enquire upon what Terms the Inhabitants Residing near that Road hold their Ground.

House rented for the Writers.

September 1.—There being no Appartments in the Factory for the young Gentlemen lately come out in the Service and Mr. Dumbleton's House being offered at 1000 Madrass Rupees per Annum

AGREED the said House be rented for the Writers.

265. CALCUTTA REQUIRES MORE ENGINEERS.

Extracts from General Letter from Bengal. Fort William, September 3, 1755, *and from the enclosed Copies of Correspondence between the Council and Watts. Bengal Letters received, Vol. III.*

The Death of Colonel Scott put a check to Our pursuing his plan for Securing this Settlement from any Attacks of the Country forces with much Alacrity as we were cautious of laying out much Money until Your Honours signifyed your Approbation of that Work which shall now be set about in as expeditious a manner as the Seasons of the Year will permit Our carrying it into Execution Here We must remark that the Government has not attempted to frustrate that Design though it has a formidable Appearance.

With respect to the Principal Fortification of Fort William Our Intentions are set forth in Our second Letter to Mr. Watts Which will be abided by And as Men of Probity We give you Our

[1] He died on August 18 (see extract 271 below).

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Sincere Assurances that the Companys Estate shall be dealt with in the most frugal manner In the Purchase of all Materials and Expences attending thereon In Case Events oblige Us to make a beginning In like manner We shall deal with the Company's Estate In those Works already begun and in all other Branches of Their Affairs regarding the Distribution of Their Wealth with a Watchfull Eye to prevent Imposition or Wastage.

We make bold to make known to Your Honours that it is highly necessary to send Three or Four expert Gentlemen Educated in the Branch of Engineering and Carrying on In the most regular manner Plans of Fortification as Experience teaches Us to Verifye this general Observation that Mens Lives advanced too or nigh the Age of Forty are very Precarious in such a Change of Climate from their Native Country therefore Successors should be appointed to prevent the Inconveniencies We now labour under This We Submit to your Consideration. . . .

August 6. Council to Watts, Chief at Cossimbazar.—We send for your Notice the Court of Directors separate Address to Us And on the purport thereof We are to have your Opinion how far You think it proper to make present Application to the Nabob or the Inconveniencies If any which You think might attend Our Prosecuting Colonel Scotts Plan for the Fortification of this Settlement without previous Leave or Connivance from the Government or whether a less Gift to be bestowed for such Permission as well for the procurement of a Grant for the Establishing a Mint here would be accepted in such manner As that We could depend on not suffering any Molestation in the Carrying on Those Works And here We have further to give You Notice that great Armaments are preparing in France And that Our Company have thought proper to give Directions that We be on Our Guard In the present Critical Scituation of Affairs between the English and French Nations Such Advice properly Whispered to the Nabob That great Fleets and many Forces are Suspected to be preparing in France for this Part of the Globe will We think give him an Alarm That that Nation might be Ambitious to extend Their Conquests In his Territories therefore Facilitate any Application We have to make And easily procure Us his Countenance and Protection to prosecute Our Works and set aside any Evil Machinations that are on Foot tending to the Interruption of Our Trade here. . . .

August 15. Watts to Council.—I observe our Honourable Masters are almost positive in Their Orders to apply for Leave to Fortifye before We begin and principally in Consideration of a Letter They received from Colonel Scott Importing that the French were Stopped from going on with Their Works for near Two Years but as I am called upon to give My Sentiments freely on this

Occasion I must declare to You Gentlemen that I think a previous Application to the Nabob for Leave to Fortifye Calcutta a Step highly Improper for Us to take For in Case the Nabob should absolutely refuse Us his Permission We must at Once give over All Thoughts of Fortifying or do it in Defiance of Him And the Nabobs Coffers are so farr from being Empty as Our Honourable Masters have been Informed That from the Time he made up his Dispute with the Morattoes and Disbanded the greater part of his Forces He has undoubtedly laid up every Year a large Sum and is now esteemed so Immensely Rich that If his Permission is to be Obtained for Money The Sums We are at Liberty to offer Part whereof must of Necessity be divided amongst his Ministers would I fear appear to him very inconsiderable But it is far from being Certain that any Stoppage would be put to Our Works were We to begin Them without shewing any Diffidence of Our Right to Secure Our Effects and Settlements in the best manner We can. . . . We are Settled in Calcutta by a full and positive Phirmaund from the King from which We have Reason to Insist on a Right to Secure Our Settlement in such manner As We think necessary and the Nabob not having had of late Years such Reason to be Jealous of Us as of the French And never having taken the least Notice of the Ditch cut round Calcutta or any of the Works since Carried on there though They appear to These People equally formidable to what the French set about which was no more than Rebuilding and Enlargeing Their Bastions Besides as I before Observed It is far from being Certain that He will take any Notice of Our making Calcutta Defensible though We may be Assured his previous Leave could not be Obtained without a Considerable Sum of Money and would for ever be Attended with this Ill Consequence that should We in future find it necessary to make any Addition to the Strength of the Place or to Repair even any Decayed Works it will be Necessary to Pay for Leave to do it And Every New Building would be Called a New Fortification for a Pretence to Extort Money from Us But in Case a Stoppage should be put to Our Proceeding after We begin Our Works I have very little Doubt of Our being able to get Permission to Continue Them on as reasonable Terms as [if] We should obtain a previous Order. . . . I shall make it My Business to Confirm the Report which has already Reached the Durbar of the great Armaments preparing in France and destined for these Parts and endeavour to Learn what Notice the Nabob takes of this Report. . . .

August 22. Council to Watts. — We have received your favour of the 15th August. The perusal thereof gave us much Satisfaction In that We are of One Accord And We believe had Colonel Scott dwelt such a Time with Us as could have afforded Him a more Intimate Circumspection into the Form of the Moguls Government and the Venality of Subahs here and their Ministers His natural good Understanding would have given him different Ideas than Those He seems to have been first struck with—It has hitherto been very Unfortunate to this Settlement that every Gentleman who has had Capacity or been appointed by Our Employers to Fortifye this Place have never Lived even to make a Beginning on the Plans proposed We have therefore agreed to Wait Our Masters last Commands by this Years Shipping When If They are Absolute

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and the Scituation of Affairs In Europe portends War We must Employ Those Who have the most Experience and Knowledge to execute Plans of Fortifycation and this We shall put in Practice without shewing any Diffidence to the Right We have of Securing Our Settlement.

266. Observations by Plaisted on the Works at Perrin's.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, September 4, 1755. *Range I., Vol. XXVIII.*

Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted Engineer sends in a letter requesting our Directions in Regard to the Works now Carrying on at Perrins.

Ordered his Letter to be entered after this Days Consultation.

To the Honourable Roger Drake, Esq^r^, President, &c^a^, Council.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

In Obedience to your orders transmitted me by Mr. Cook I shall use my Utmost Endeavours to get the Business forwarded but as it appeared to me on my first Visit that Mr. Wells had Mistaken the Colonels Directions I requested the favour of Mr. O'Hara and Captain Buchanan to go with me on a Survey who agreed with me in the same Sentiments that the Parapet or Breast Work was intended to have been only 8 feet thick whereas Mr. Wells has made it 15 and has filled it up quite leaving no Embrazures till Mr. O'Hara opened them I am now to desire the Opinion of the Board Whether I am to take down the Inner Lining and Reduce it to the Dementions the Colonel Intended or leave it in the State it is now only the Embrazures must be opened as it is Evident it was the Colonels Intentions.

I am, with all due respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient Servant,
Bartholomew Plaisted, *Engineer.*

September 4, 1756.

Ordered the Secretary to Direct him to follow the late Colonel Scott's Instructions.

267. Letter from Captain Jones with a Plan of Fort William.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, September 11, 1755.

Captain Jasper Leigh Jones sends in a Letter to the Board with a Plan of Fort William Requesting the said Plan might be transmitted to the Honourable Company.

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TO THE HONOURABLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQ, PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, &c[a], COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

'Having not met with the Pleasure of your Approbation in Regard to my last Letter dated the 4th August 1755 to which this Plan is in some Measure a Reference, and that it may not be misconstrued by your Honour &c[a] hope you'l be kind enough to give me leave to send it home in the Packet for fear it might be thought (without an Explanation) I had some Views of Converting the Designs of a more perfect Hand This I hope will shew I had no sinister Views of my own and if I have Erred it was my Intire Zeal for the Interest of the Honourable Company for whom I thought it my Duty to offer every thing in my Power to serve.

I am, &c[a],
JASPER LEIGH JONES,
Captain of Artillery.

CALCUTTA,
September 11th, 1755.

ORDERED the Secretary to forward the said Plan in the Box of Books per *Hardwick*.

268. THE COUNCIL REPORT THAT PLAISTED IS IN CHARGE OF THE WORKS AND O'HARA AN ASSISTANT ENGINEER.

Extracts from General Letters from Bengal, dated September 11, *Paragraph* 26, *and September* 28, *Paragraph* 20, 1755. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. III.*

26. *September* 11.—We shall pay a due regard to your orders in regard to the Fortifications Colonell Scott had projected for the defence of the place against a Country Enemy which are carrying on agreeable to his Instructions but are not yet near finish'd Mr. Wells who was recommended by the Colonell to overlook those works being dead we have directed Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted to see them executed for what may relate further to those works or any others that may be found necessary for the defence of this Settlement we beg leave to referr your Honours to the Gentlemen you have entrusted on that head.

20. *September* 28.—Upon Receipt of your orders of the 29th November 1754 We appointed Mr. Charles O'Hara an Assistant Engineer and shall allow him the same Salary as the Gentlemen at the Coast give their Assistants Engineers. He has our orders to overlook the Works carrying on at Perrins point jointly with Mr. Plaisted.

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269. Report of the Fortifications by Captain Minchin.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, October 2, 1755. Range I., Vol. XXVIII.

Captain Commandant George Minchin sends in a Report of the Fortifications with his Sentiments of what Works are immediately necessary for the Defence of the Settlement in Case of War with France.

Ordered it to be entered after this Days Consultation and to lay for Consideration.

To the Honourable Roger Drake, Esq, President and Governor, &c[a], Council.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

In Obedience to your Honour &c[a] Commands I have made the following Survey and Remarks which I humbly apprehend will (in Case of any Rupture that may arise here) be of Infinite Service therefore submit them to your Honour &c[a] Consideration.

Surveyed the Parapet facing the Water side and found the Interior Line of the Parapet Banquette &c[a] entirely out of Repair as likewise the Embrazures, I therefore recommend the Repairing them in the following Manner Viz.

The Parapet to be eight Foot thick the out side Wall three foot, the Cheeks of the Embrazures and the Interior Line one foot and a half, the Center to be filled with Earth well rammed in, and Tarrass'd at Top to prevent the Rain from Swelling the Earth and bursting the Lining.

I also Recommend to your Consideration Erecting another Battery in the same Manner at the Back of the Companys House and a third on that Piece of Ground lately purched for the Honourable Company, from Mr. Pearke's House to the Corner of the Ditch by Mr. Holwell's.

Surveyed the Land and Garrison Carriages and found most of the Garrison Carriages very good except the Trucks which are in general very bad likewise some of the Axle-trees which would have been repair'd long ago had not Collonel Scott told me it was unnecessary to do anything to them as he had made an Indent Home for Iron Axle-trees, Trucks and all other Iron Work necessary for Gun Carriages which he expected out by this Years Shipping. The Land Carriages are all Unserviceable (except four) at present But there is some of them whose Side Pieces are very good if they had new Wheels and Axle-trees they might last a long time.

I Beg leave to mention the usefulness of a Saluting Battery the same as in the Tower of London which would be a means of preserving a Number of Carriages which otherwise are Continually exposed to the sun and Rain.

My Meaning in Regard to this Affair is that I think it would be proper to have a sufficient Number of Carriages for the Embrazures of the four Points and likewise for the Gun Line facing the Water side when they are made or

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Repair'd to be put under Cover as near as possible to the Parapet, which might be Covering a Place along that Curtain facing the Water where they will stand secure from the Whether (*sic*), and will be ready upon all Occasions, it will be necessary to have some of the best old Carriages with a Gun mounted upon them Pointed through the Embrazures that they may not appear naked.

This would be a Means of allways having Good Carriages and the Trouble of Mounting and Dismounting the Guns will never Equal the Wear of Carriages allways Exposed to the Weather.

I also beg leave to Acquaint your Honour &c[a] that the Entrances into the North West and South West Bastions which are both Bomb Proof for Powder Magazines are at the Outside of the Fort Therefore I humbly submit to your Honour &c[a] whether it would not be better to have them altered.

The Abovementioned Batterys proposed do not (as I have been informed) interfere with the Plan sent Home by Colonel Scott to the Honourable Company and will I apprehend prevent any Attack by Water to injure the present Fortifications, as no Ship with any Prospect of Security or Success can Lye before them, and they are at Present as Capable of Defence as the Day they were finished, In my humble Opinion, But I believe at that time it was not apprehended we should have any Disturbances with any Europeans Powers.

As the Honourable Company are by this time acquainted with the Death of Colonel Scott I make no doubt but they will send out an Engeneer of Experience to Execute the Plan approved of by them as the Design may be entirely destroyed if Executed by a Person of little or no Experience.

If any other Batterys should hereafter be thought Necessary Facines and Gabions may be easily procured as the Materials are near at hand.

I am, with the greatest Respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
GEORGE MINCHIN.

FORT WILLIAM,
29 *September*, 1755.

270. PROCEEDINGS IN THE LAST HALF OF 1755.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, October 6 *and* 27 *November* 2, 10, *and* 17, *November* 20, *November* 24, *November* 27, *and December* 8, 1755. *Range I., Vol. XXVIII.*

Letter from Mr. Plaisted requesting a Banyan.

October 6.—Mr. William Frankland Buxey lays before the Board a Letter from Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted requesting he may be allowed a Banyan to count the Workmen and take an Account of the Materials as has been usual.

AGREED he be allowed 10 Rupees per month for a Banyan.

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To Mr. William Frankland, Esq^r.

Sir,

By the Councils orders transmitted me by Mr. Cooke I find I am in some measure to be accountable for the Number of Workmen Employ'd and the Materials Expended agreeable to my Duty heretofore till Mr. Kemp changed the Sistem I am therefore humbly to request the same helps and be allowed as before Banians and I conceive it will be very expedient either to have a Centinel at the Gate that is now turned outwards or to remove it again within the Barrier Gate for should it remain as it is under the care of a Doorwan[1] there is too great an opening for theiving.

You will please to use your Pleasure in laying this before the Board or not.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Bartholomew Plaisted.

October 4th, 1755.

Verandah to be surveyed.

October 27.—Mr. Paul Richard Pearkes Import Warehouse Keeper represents that the Verandah before the Import Ware House is in so bad a Condition that it is Dangerous to stand under the Beams and Burgers being entirely rotten. He likewise desires two Windows may be struck out of the Godown where the Broad Cloth is kept for want of which the Woollen Goods have always been liable to Damage.

Ordered Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted to survey the Verandah and the Buxey to comply with his Request for two Windows. . .

Bartholomew Plaisted made Master Attendant.

November 2.—Captain Samuel Sutton having departed this Life of a Fever on the 31st Ultimo We sent for Captain Bartholomew Plaisted and acquainted him that the Honourable Company had appointed him to the Office of Master Attendant and we directed him in Consequence to take Charge of the Marine immediately.

Fenwick's Request to return to Europe.

November 10.—Captain Thomas Fenwick sends in a Letter to the Board requesting our Permission to return to Europe for the

[1] *Darwān*, gatekeeper.

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Recovery of his Health and to settle some Affairs of Consequence to himself and Family promising to Return to his Duty as soon as he had finish'd his Business that called him away.

ORDERED his Letter to be entered after this Days Consultation.

The Board being satisfyed that Captain Fenwicks indisposition has been very severe and believing what he further says to be true

AGREED he be permitted to return to Europe for the above Considerations and

ORDERED the Secretary to prepare a Furlow for that purpose.

TO THE HONOURABLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQ^{r}, PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &C^{a}, COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

My Health being very much impair'd by a late severe fit of sickness and my Presence in Europe being absolutely necessary to settle some affairs of the greatest Consequence to myself and Family I am humbly to request your Honour &c^{a} will indulge me with a furlow to return to England, both for the Recovery of my Health and to settle those Affairs. I take the Liberty to Mention I have serv'd the Honourable Company above thirty four Years without any Material Absence from my Duty nor should I now have presumed to have desired that Favour did not my Indisposition and the Urgency of my Affairs make it requisite. And as I hope my Behaviour has always given your Honour &c^{a} Satisfaction I flatter myself you will Acquiesce with my Request without Limiting my stay in England as I promise your Honour &c^{a} I will return to my duty as soon as I have finish'd my Business which calls me away.

I am, with Respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
THOMAS FENWICK.

FORT WILLIAM,
10th November, 1755.

Colin Simpson appointed Engineer and Surveyor.

November 17.—Mr. Simpson being arrived from Dacca, and the Board esteeming him a proper Person to succeed Mr. Plaisted in his Post of Engineer and surveyor,

AGREED he be appointed thereto with the usual Allowances and that he supervise the Works in hand jointly with Mr. O'Hara.

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Mr. Plaisted's Letter and Memorials.

November 20.—Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted sends in a Letter to the Board with two Memorials to be transmitted to the Honourable Company in our Packet to Europe.

ORDERED his Letter to be entered after this Days Consultation and to lay for Consideration.

TO THE HONOURABLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQ^r, PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, &C^a, COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

The Accompanying two Memorials I am to Request the favour of you to transmit to the Honourable Court of Directors by the two first Packets which being left open for your perusal I apprehend needs no Explanation.

I am, with all due respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant,
BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED.

November 19th, 1755.

November 24.—Mr. Frankland begs leave to acquaint the Board that Mr. Plaisted prior to his Departure for Europe having promised him a Copy of a Plan he had taken of the Town of Calcutta and his Calling on Mr. Plaisted at that time mentioned in his Memorial was chiefly to request the Favour of the Plan with leave to take a Copy of it Having before he was taken ill once or twice reminded him of his promise. On his Mentioning this his Intentions of going to Mr. Plaisted (some time after the receipt of the Honourable Companys orders respecting Mr. McGwire) he being then pritty well recovered except in the use of his legs Mr. Manningham desired him to speak to Mr. Plaisted of that Affair which he accordingly did in the presence of Mr. Thomas Cooke as is set forth in the Memorial, but on Mr. Plaisted's saying (after a good deal of discourse on that Subject) That he thought Mr. McGwire ought to write him and make proper Concessions, desiring also a Copy of the Companys Paragraph, and Mr. Cooke being of the same opinion, He (Mr. Frankland) said that as he had not spoke of this affair to Mr. McGwire who was absent but only mentioned it to him (Mr. Plaisted) as from Mr. Manningham and himself he could say nothing further

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on that Subject and Mr. Plaisted having furnish'd him with the Plan he took his leave.[1]

Captain Jones dies.

November 27.—Captain Jasper Leigh Jones having demised on the 22nd Instant of a Violent Fever The Board were of opinion that the Company he was Captain of ought to be fill'd up till our Honourable Masters Pleasure should be known by a Person properly qualifyed to train and Exercise them in their Duty which was absolutely necessary in the present Prospects of a War with France as the Artillery may then be of the utmost Importance.

AGREED therefore that a Commission be granted Captain Lawrence Witherington for the Company of Artillery as we esteem him the best qualified Person for the Charge of the Train from his long Service and acknowledg'd experience in that Branch of Military affairs.

Plaisted's Request to be received on Board the 'London.'

December 8.—Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted sends in a Letter to the Board requesting an order to Captain Alwright to receive him and his Necessarys as he designs to return to Europe on the *London.*

ORDERED his Letter[2] to be entered after this Days Consultation and the Secretary to direct Captain Alwright to receive him and his Necessarys on Board.

271. FURTHER REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS IN 1755.

Extract from Bengal General Letter, dated Fort William, December 8, 1755. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. III.*

106. Upon Receipt of your Letter under Date 13th February advising of very great Naval Preparations being made in France and England, we order'd our Commandant Captain Minchin to

[1] At the conclusion of these proceedings Plaisted was suspended from his office of Master Attendant.

[2] The letter is a protest against his suspension, a declaration that no insult was intended to the Council, and an avowal of his belief in his power to vindicate his character before the Directors. At the same time, McGwire obtained leave to proceed to Europe to 'vindicate himself from any insinuations Mr. Plaisted may there make to his disadvantage.'

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survey our Fortifications, and report to the Board any new Works he might think absolutely necessary for the immediate Defence of the Place in Case of a War. His Report was deliver'd in the 2d October and is referred to the Committee your Honours have appointed for that Purpose.

107. On the 4th August Captain Jasper Leigh Jones sent in a Letter to the Board with his Sentiments of the present Fortifications of the Place and what he thought necessary for its Defence in Case of War. This Letter is enter'd after that Days Consultation, and the Board being of Opinion it was irregular, improper and unnecessary we order'd our Secretary to inform him, that our Orders had been issued to his Superiour Officer to whom he should have applied if he had anything material to offer.

108. Mr. William Wells, second Lieutenant of the Train, under whose inspection the Works at Perrins were carrying on, departed this Life on the 18th August. In his Room Mr. Bartholomew Plaistead took charge of those Works jointly with Mr. O'Hara. They have our Directions to execute the Plan Colonel Scot left behind him.

122. Captain Thomas Fenwick having requested our Permission to proceed to England for the Recovery of his Health, and to settle some Affairs of Consequence to himself and Family; being satisfied that his Health is very much impaired by a late Fit of Sickness, we have permitted him to return to England, and have granted him a Furlow for that Purpose. We take the Liberty to mention that Captain Fenwick's Behaviour in the Profession he is in, has always given general Satisfaction, and we doubt not his long Services will plead so far in his Favour with your Honours, as to confirm the Step we have taken, and dispense with his Attendance on Duty till he has settled the Affairs which call him Home.

129. Your Honours will observe by our Consultation of the 27th Ultimo that Captain Jasper Leigh Jones departed this Life of a Fever on the 22nd of that Month. We then took into Consideration how to dispose of the Charge of his Company, and were of Opinion it was of the utmost Importance to keep up the Practice and Exercise of the Artillery at a Time when there was so great a Prospect of a Rupture with France, in which Case that

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Company might be of infinite Service. To effect this we were of Opinion it would be proper to give it in Charge to a Person skilld in the discipline of the Train, and Captain Lawrence Witherington being the only Officer in the Place, who from his Experience and knowledge in that Branch, was qualified to undertake the Charge of the Company, we have granted him a Commission to command the Train of Artillery till we receive your further Orders, and we flatter ourselves this Step of ours will be approved of, as so great a dependance must be placed in the Train of Artillery should we be attack'd, and as Captain Withrington is the only Officer sufficiently qualified to keep up and regulate the Practice and discipline of that Company.

149. Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted with a Letter to the Board on the 20th November accompany'd two Memorials to be transmitted the Honourable the Court of Directors in our Packets to them one of which we forward by this Ship. Upon perusing the Memorial laid before us as above, and taking the same into Consideration, the Board were of opinion . . . Mr. Plaisted merited our severest Resentment, and that he ought to be suspended from his Office of Master Attendant, which we accordingly did. . . .

152. Mr. Plaisted on the 8th Instant advised us of his Intention to return to Europe on the *London*, and we have given Captain Alwright Orders to receive him on Board agreeable to his Request.

272. Estimate of Enclosing Calcutta.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, Monday, February 2, 1756. Range I., Vol. XXVIII.

Mr. Collin Simpson having Estimated the Expence of Executing Colonel Scott's Plan laid before the Board on the 1754 He delivers it in by which it appears the Charge will greatly exceed what the Colonel imagin'd and be of very little use to the place

Resolved therefore that we deferr carrying the Colonel's Proposal into execution till we hear further from the Honourable Company and

Order'd Mr. Simpson's Calculation be Enter'd after this day's Consultation.

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TO THE HONOURABLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQ^r., AND CHARLES MANNINGHAM, ESQ.^r

An Estimate of the Charge to execute Colonel Scott's Scheme of inclosing the Bounds of Calcutta.

One thousand cubical feet of Earth costs at a Medium 14 Annas to dig and remove, The Ditch is 36 Feet over and Twelve deep with a Slope equal to the depth so that a Yard of the Ditch in Length contains 864 Cubical Feet and 100 yards contains 86,400 Cubical feet which will cost at the above rate 75 Rupees 9 Annas but to avoid Fractions in the following Calculations 100 yards in Length is Estimated at Rupees 76.

	Yds. Long.	Rs.	Rs.
Expence of digging the Ditch from the River at Gobindpore to the Cross Roads near Mr. Frankland's Garden estimated at 3/4ths of the Expence of digging a new Ditch[1]	2,710	1,545	
From Mr. Frankland's Garden to the End of the whole Ditch near the late Mr. Coale's Garden to be new dug[2]	1,200	912	
From the End of the Old Ditch to the North East Corner of Metre's Garden at half the Expence of new Work[3]	5,380	4,088	
On the North side of Metre's Garden to be new dugg	350	266	
From thence to Cow Cross Bridge at 1/2 the expence of new work[4]...	675	256	

[1] The proposed ditch begins at a point on the river a little to south of the present Fort William, where we now find Bālu Ghāṭ. The river-bank, of course, was a little further to the east. From that point to the junction of Free School Street with Park Street is 2,710 yards. Here, then, we have 'the Cross Roads.' The site of 'Mr. Frankland's garden' was Middleton Row, where later on Mr. Vansittart's garden house was situated, the house afterwards occupied by Impey, and now the Loretto Convent. This garden house is, in fact, shown in Orme's plan of Calcutta in 1757. Here, however, the lines of the proposed ditch are drawn so as to include the garden house. The present estimate does not seem to allow of this. To do so would have increased the length of the ditch by several hundred yards. In Orme's plan the length of the proposed ditch from Govindpur to the corner of the garden house is 2,980 yards.

[2] The ditch seems to have ended at St. James's Parsonage in the Circular Road. It is almost exactly 1,200 yards from the cross roads to the parsonage gates. Perhaps Mr. Coale's garden occupied the site of St. James's Church and Parsonage.

[3] It is 5,380 yards from St. James's Parsonage gate to the north-east corner of Govindarāma Mitra's garden in what is now the Ultaḍāngā Main Road.

[4] Six hundred and seventy-five yards from the junction of the Ultaḍāngā Main Road with the Circular Road brings us to what is now called S'yām Bāzār, at the junction of the S'yām Bāzār Road with the Circular Road. This, then, was Cow

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	Yds. Long.	Rs.	Rs.
From Cow Cross Bridge to Bogbazar at three fourths of the Expence of new work	1,345	1,022	
Ten Old Earthen Redoubts 40 yards extraordinary work in each	400	304	
Eight New D° D° 100 yards each	800	608	
Total Length to be dug and the Expence of each work	12,860		9,001
Wooden Barriers or Gates for 18 Earthen Redoubts at 50 Rupees each			900
Houses and Grounds to be purchased in several places Estimated by Mr. Holwell at			2,000
Twelve drains of Masonry to be made thro' the Rampart in several places at 50 Rupees each ...			600
Forty Eight Cubical feet of Masonry costs at a Medium 8 Rupees.			
In one Drawbridge there is 5,992 Cubical feet of Brick work this divided by 48 gives 126 which multiply'd by 8 gives 1,008 Rupees for the Brick work of one draw Bridge.			
The Expence of the Wood Work of one draw bridge will be nearly as follows—			
Teak Plank 16 at 11 Rupees each 176			
Knees 8 at 3 Rupees each 24			
Beams 10 at 12 Rupees each 120			
Sundry Plank 5 at 3 Rupees each 15			
Small Knees 40 at 3 Rupees each 120			
Beams 8 at 8 Rupees each 64			
Iron 5 Maunds wrought at 16 per maund 80			
Brass Work for Pullys 1 Maund work'd 75			
Lead for the Counterpoise 25 maund 243·12			
Total for one Bridge ... Rs. 917·12			
There will be six Draw bridges wanted beside those [of] Bogbazar and Gobinpore.			
The Brickwork of 6 Draw bridges at 1,008 Rupees each is.		6,048	
The Wood Iron &c[a] work of 6 D° at 917 Rupees 12 Annas each is		5,506	
			11,554

Cross. The Cow Cross Bridge over which the road led to Dum Dum is shown both in Orme's plan and in Upjohn's. From Cow Cross Bridge to Bāg Bāzār is 1,345 yards, as stated in the next item.

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The Expences of the Redoubt at Bogbuzar to 1st January 1756 have been as follows:

Materials furnished by Collonel Scott and Monthly Account			8,939	12	9
Materials &c[a] furnisht by the Buxey... ...			14,145	2	3
Total Expence to 1st January 1756 ...			23,084	15	0
Estimate of the Expence it will be to finish the Redoubt draw bridge and Lock at Bogbuzar from 1st January 1756					
Wood Iron Work &c[a] of the Draw Bridge	917				
Gates Hinges &c[a] for the Lock ...	300				
Monthly Account for two months and a half...	900				
Chunam Brickdust Paint &c[a] ...	500				
		2,617	0	0	
		25,701	15	0	
Charge of Building a Brick Redoubt Lock and Draw Bridge at Gobinpore					25,701 15 0
					49,756 15 0
Charge of the Redoubt Lock and Drawbridge at Bogbuzar					25,701 15 0
Total Expence of Colonel Scott's Scheme for Inclosing the bounds of Calcutta ...[Current Rupees]					75,458 14 0

273. The Execution of Colonel Scott's more expensive Plan to be stopped.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. Fort William, February 11, 1756. *Paragraphs* 62-65, *and* 69. *Bengal Despatches, Vol. I.*

62. The Death of Collonel Scott is a very unfortunate Incident as it has deprived us of a very Able Engineer and the more so as wee are at a Loss to find a Person of sufficient Abilitys to succeed him and to carry on the Works entrusted to his Care, Wee are under the Necessity therefore of Revoking the Orders wee gave in the 32[d] Paragraph of our Letter of the 29th of November 1754 with regard to Collonel Scotts Plann for Fortifying Fort William as contained in his Letter to us of the 6th of January 1754 and to Direct that you do not proceed in the Execution of that Plann or carry on any other Expensive Works untill you receive our

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further Directions, Wee do not mean however to hinder you from putting the Place in such a propper Posture of Defence as may be necessary in the present Scituation of Affairs, Wee would allso have Collonel Scott's Project dated the 11th of February 1754 for rendering the Settlement defencible against Attacks of any Country Enemy Compleated if it is not already so under the Direction of Lieutenant William Wells to whome the necessary Instructions wee find were communicated by Collonel Scott by a Letter Dated 21st of March 1754.

63. The Rules and Orders which have been laid down by us for carrying on the Works under the Direction of Collonel Scott must be observed in the carrying on the before mentioned Works under Lieutenant Wells as far as the Difference of Circumstances will admit of.

64. We are informed all Books Papers and Planns belonging to the late Collonel Scott were delivered to his Executors but as many of them must entirely relate to the Company's affairs, you must apply to the Executors for them and if any are necessary for our Information or Inspection you must keep the Originals and transmit Copys thereof to us.

65. We observe you have made a Purchase of the Seats of a Compound and some Godowns for the Sum of Current Rupees 4,900 which as you represent to be very commodious for Warehouses and Magazines wee must presume to be a necessary and good bargain. It appears allso you were in Treaty to rent a Spot of Ground called Similia for the Sume of Current Rupees 2,281 and as for the reasons you give it seems to be necessary and advantagious to the Settlement wee shall leave it to you to compleat the Bargain if it is not already done.

69. We have been informed that the Apartments set apart for the Lodgings of our Writers are from the Nature of their Scituation very Damp and consequently greatly prejudicial to their Healths, You are therefore to allot some other Places for that Use or if necessary Erect such New Apartments in the most Frugal Manner as may best answer the purpose having a particular regard that they be as near the respective Offices for Business as possible.

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274. The Council report Scott's less expensive Scheme to be too expensive for Them.

Extracts from General Letters from Bengal to the Court, dated Fort William, February 21 and 23, 1756, and from a Letter from the Select Committee to the Court, February 26, 1756. Bengal Letters received, Vol. III.

February 21.—The Redoubt at Perrins being nigh Compleated and observing the Expence of that work was farr more Considerable than was Represented to your Honours by Colonel Scott, we required Mr. Symson to make a Calculate at what Expence the whole work might be finish'd[1] Copy of which Estimation we also forward and have thought proper to drop any further Expence untill we are Commanded to proceed in that work from your Honours, or that such able Person or Persons you may think proper to send out as Engineers can Convince us It will have greater utility than we at present Imagine.

February 23.—36. The Honourable Companys House near the Factory being in a weak condition we ordered the Buxey to strengthen it by building a Verandah round it.

38. As your Honours seem to approve of Colonel Scotts plan for Enclosing the Companys bounds by a Fosse and Redoubts erected at proper distances, Mr. Simpson our Engineer was ordered to make an Estimate of the sum of money it would cost to execute the said Plan; upon his Estimate being laid before us it appeared to us greatly to Exceed what the Colonel or your Honours imagined it would amount to; we have therefore deferr'd Carrying the said plan further into execution till we receive your orders.

February 26.—Since Closing Our last under Date the 23rd Instant Mr. Simson has delivered Us the Accompanying Representation and Plan Which We now Transmit for Your Honours Observation Remarking that Engineers seldom agree in matters of Fortification How Justly Mr. Simson may judge Colonel Scott his Plan to be Deficient We shall not presume to determine but Think it Our Duty to transmitt You his Observations thereon We are with great Truth, &c. &c.

[1] See extract 272.

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LETTER FROM COLIN SIMSON TO MESSRS. DRAKE AND MANNINGHAM.

Fort William, February 25, 1756.—Since the time I have had the Honour to be appointed Engineer, I have had an opportunity to examine the Plan projected by Colonel Scot for a Fortification where Fort William now stands, which appearing to be deficient in some of the things principally requisite in a Fortification I thought it my Duty to Represent the same to your Honour &c. that if you think proper this Representation with the accompanying Plan be transmitted to the Honourable The Court of Directors.[1]

The side toward the River of Colonel Scots Plan is much too long, being 514 Yards from Point to Point, so that the Faces of the Bastion are out of the reach of Musket Shot from the opposite Flanks, there being 410 yards from the Flank of One Bastion to the Shoulder of the other, and 462 yards from Flank to Point.

The Gun Wharf or Low Battery on the Riverside, which is not flanked by any Fire from the Fort, is proposed to be left in its present situation, and as its Wall projects forwards from the Angle of the Shoulder of the Northwest Bastion, towards the River it prevents the Face of that Bastion from being Flanked.

Neither is the Face of the Southwest Bastion toward the River Flanked, the Line of its Face running withoutside the opposite Flank.

The North Curtain being bent in the middle is flanked only at the Angle, so that the Flanks of the adjoining Bastions are no defence to one another, nor to any of the lower part of the wall of the Curtain, the middle excepted.

The whole Fort when finished will be a narrow Slip on the side of the River, and in order to build it The whole North side of the Factory, which Contains the Apartments for most of the Young Gentlemen in the Company's Service, The Magazine for Arms and Military Stores, The Shop for Medicine, Smiths Shops &c. must be pull'd down immediately as also the Church and Hospital. As all these buildings are in Constant use they cannot be well spared, and it would be difficult to Supply their place immediately.

It may then be questioned whether it would not be more advisable to save most of these buildings, and to Erect a Square Fort as by the accompanying Plan, which Runs from the North side of the present Fort Round the Church, thro' the Tank, toward the Horse Stables and thence down to the waterside between Mr. Amiot's House and that of the Company's.[2]

This would be a Compact Regular Fort, Containing as much space as that of Colonel Scot, has all its Bastions well Flanked, and the River Sufficiently commanded, by Low Tenailles and advanced Battery on the Riverside whose Plat-

[1] In order to follow these observations, we must refer to the plan of Scott's projected fortification of Fort William, and plan of Calcutta drawn by Wells in 1753 (see Plates vii. and viii.).

[2] Evidently Mr. Amyatt's house was at this time next to the Company's or Governor's house, and was the house by the dock which, in the plan by Wells in 1753, is assigned to Mr. Howell.

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form is on a level with the Highwater mark, its Ditch may be made of the same dimensions, and the Redouts in the Reent'ring angles of the Covered way Constructed as those of Colonel Scots Plan, excepting on the North side, where it will be better to save Mr. Eyre's House by Inclosing it in a larger Redout as by the Plan.

The Houses to be pulled down by each Plan allowing Sixty Yards on the outside of the line wall, with a rough Estimate of their Values, or the expence of Raising Buildings Equivalent to them is as follows.

Houses destroyed by Colonel Scots Plan.

	C. Rs.	C. Rs.
The North Part of the Fort to raise Buildings Equivalent or to answer the same Uses ...	50,000	
The Church to build another	17,000	
Horse Stables	1,500	
Captain Fenwicks House[1]	3,000	
Captain Claytons House	7,000	
Hospital	15,000	
House possess'd by Mrs. Mcguire[2]	7,000	
Godowns at the Dock-head and Mr. Amiots[3] ...	6,000	
Godowns of the Companys House	1,000	
Seats old Houses	6,000	
If the Rampart is likewise continued at the Back of the Companys House that must come down, but as it may be discontiuned as at the North side of the Factory House I shall leave it out.		
		113,500

Houses destroyed by the Square allowing the Same Area of 60 *Yards without the Wall.*

Mr. Cruttenden's House	12,000
Lower Room'd House to the north of Mr. Eyres	3,000
House lately possess'd by Mr. Cook belonging to Omichund[4]	7,000

[1] This, perhaps, is the house marked 'Capt. Rannie' in the plan of 1753. Captain Rannie has another house in this plan to the north of the fort. Perhaps Fenwick rented the one south of the fort.

[2] This, I take it, is the house marked 'Mr. Douglass' in the plan of 1753.

[3] This I consider to be the house marked 'Mr. Holwell' in the same plan. Holwell has another house a little further to the south in which he lived (see his letter of November 30, 1756, paragraph 40).

[4] This is the house marked 'Mr. Cook' in the plan of 1753. It is important to note that this was Amichand's house in 1756, as well as the house east of Mr. Eyre's.

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	C. Rs.	C. Rs.
House lately Repair'd of Omichund[1]	10,000	
Mr. Coales House	10,000	
Mr. Valycourts[2]	8,000	
Mr. Amiots	10,000	
Godowns of the Companys House	2,000	
Part of the North East Corner of the Fort ...	16,000	
Mr. Eyre's House, bought but not pulled down may be surrounded by the Redoubt and be a usefull place for lodging &c.	12,000	
		90,000

Before the buildings of the Colonels Plan can be Carryed on there must be pulled down immediately all the North side of the Factory, the Church, Godowns and Mr. Mc.Guire's House, The Dock yard and Godowns of the Company's House, whereas to go on with building the Square nothing needs to be pulled down but the Outhouse at the Company's House, and a small part of the North East Corner of the present Fort.

If the Line Wall, Ditch and Redouts were finished, the parts of the Glacis which interfere with the Neighbouring Houses may be left unfinished till the Appearance of a Siege makes it absolutely necessary to clear all away, and then the Glacis may be made in the same time the Houses are pulled down.

This Fort would require fewer men to defend it, in the Proportion of Five to Four.

The Flanks toward the Landside may be arched so as to afford Room for two Casemated Guns in each Flank and likewise Sufficient Room to hold all the Garrison and People off Duty, Secure from Shells in case of a Siege.

The Flanks toward the River are made Circular, as by that Figure, they afford somewhat more Room, and Flank the lower advanced battery better.

The Flanks toward the landside are made somewhat shorter than they Commonly are in a Fort of this Size, in order to save Room, but as they are sufficiently long to hold Five Guns, each on a line, it is presumed they will be found to be long enough for their use.

As the walls must be founded nearly as deep as the bottom of the great Tank all Round, The Building through it need be no great objection.

I have the Honour to be with the greatest Respect,
Honourable Sirs,
Your most Obedient and most humble Servant,
COLIN SIMSON.

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[1] This is the house marked 'Omichund' in the same plan east of Mr. Eyre's.

[2] This is probably the house marked 'Mr. Knox' in the same plan east of Mr. Coale's.

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275. Plan for fortifying Calcutta in Bengal.

Correspondence Memoranda, 1757.

That Bastion next to Mr. Cruttenden's house must be enlarged. The Bastion opposite Mr. Eyre's house should only be strengthen'd by a Cavalier at the entrance of the Gorge.

The Bastion That Flanks the Main Gate from the South to be Enlarged and from the Shoulder of this Bastion its curtain should terminate a new large Bastion with a Cavalier in its Center and on the Spot Mr. Amyatts house stands, close to the Dock.

One heavy Battery will be sufficient to cover the Fort on the River side when erected at the center of its extent.

The Church stands properly to fortifye; by opening portholes under the windows, which may be closed with Slight work to beat out occasionally. It is the strongest Edifice in Calcutta, and the Beams being well underpropt will compleat it a Cavalier of a double Tier of 3 and 4 pounders, besides there has been many years laid a foundation for a Steeple almost Solid. This should be carryed up in the form of a Tower which will bear heavy Cannon, and the whole construction of that consequence as to command every part of the Fort.

The Ditch in a Regular fortification would be carryed along the Berme[1] distant 4 or 5 feet left at the foot of the Rampart, But in our Scituation, it will be more commodious and as expedient to join to the River by Cruttendens Bastion carrying it from thence round the Church to the head of the great Tank and prolong it thro' the Company's Dock to the River.

The Churchyard, park, and other inclosures of Wall leading to the Courthouse must be thrown down; as likewise all the Hollows and ditches as far as the Jail must be filled up or the Shott will be lost in them.

Horse Shoe as Engineers term it (its construction is commonly a Circle) and such work I would have in the great Tank, as it commands all the Avenues to the Fort.

Draw Bridge, One only is to be constructed and that opposite to the Main Gate.

The Tank to the head of which should be joined the Ditch

[1] i.e., brim, edge, or border.

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100 Feet broad well Supported on the Side by Masonry and to keep it from choaking a Flood Gate should be erected at the extreme ends, noticed under the Article Ditch. Its use and advantage by having the Foss joined to the head of the Tank, I calculate with a prospect of introducing a revenue to the Company, The Tank being already a spacious Bason with dept of Water for first Rate Ships, and the space of ground contiguous quite round the Tank is so commodious for the most spacious Banksalls, that the Stores of every Vessell may be sheltered close to her, It is also a safe Retreat from the River when bad Weather and those violent inlets of the Tides (called Bores) threaten, to which boats and Trade are exposed to Damage and often lost, there being no place of Safeness near Calcutta to retire to.

The great Tank being thus formed into a usefull Bason the Conditions to boats and Vessells should be regulated by such incouragements as may induce Owners and Merchants to find a Convenience by entering the Bason and to which end every Vessell should pay per ton . . . every boat per 100 Mds . . . Carreening Tackle.

Cranes &ca to accomodate Trade.

These and other Conveniences to Load, unload and refitt should be the Company's property with the advantages arising therefrom.

Fort William To give it a necessary Esplanade would dismantle so many houses inconvenient for the Company to purchase or the Owners to part with in a Hurry, That I can only propose it expedient at present to throw down Mr. Cruttendens house, and those of Omichund,[1] Mr. Watts Mr. Burredges[2] with the Saltpetre Godown as also Mr. Eyres house. I hope to make it appear how the works I have strengthen'd are consistant with a Mercantile Security must be compounded of oeconomy and defence, and if a plan is ordered agreable to the additions I have given to Fort William you will discover its compact and Commanding fire, with the advantage of a Governor having a whole Garrison in view to detach upon any immediate Service, for I must observe to be

[1] The house marked 'Mr. Cook' in the plan of 1753, and perhaps the house marked 'Omichund' as well (see extract 274, Simson's letter).

[2] The house marked 'Mr. Tooke' in the plan of 1753.

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attacked in a part of the world so remote from relief, all Outworks (as they must be first attackt) will with probability be carried in succession, and such lodgments puts the Enemy upon an equality with your Fort.

As the most probable means of a Company supporting their trade it does not depend on extraordinary Engineers, or expensive works, But upon an easy frugal and resolute form of Government, I know no power in India will venture near enough to disturbe, and shall now presume to explain myself on these Assertions.[1]

276. Account of the Loss of Calcutta by Captain Grant.[2]

Extract from a Letter from Captain Grant. Fulta, July 13, 1756. *British Museum Additional MS.* 29,209.

On the receipt of the letters by the *Delawar* a few weeks preceeding our troubles, there was orders given to repair the old Line before the Fort to the river side, and prepare carriages for 50 pieces of cannon 24 and 18 lbs. (which had lyen unregarded at the wharff for three years past) in order to have them mounted on this Line, against an attack by water; The carriages on the bastions were at the same time ordered to be repaired, but so dilatory was the execution of these orders and so litle was it thought necessary to have them forwarded with any expedition, that when we received the News of the loss of Cossimbuzar the 7th inst. that it could be only said they were begun, and but very few of the carriages patched for the guns on the ramparts; and besides the two field pieces we had from Madarass, not another piece of ordinance, fit to be drawn out of the Fort.[3]

[1] Here follow *A Plan to raise, keep up and maintain a Regular Militia in Calcutta, Bengall*, and *A Plan for Regulating and Conducting to Advantage the Honble Companys Cotta, or Export Warehouse in Calcutta, Bengall.* No signature or date to this paper; it is to be found in Correspondence Memoranda, 1757, among the papers for May, 1757.

[2] Another version of this account has been published in the *Indian Antiquary* for November, 1899, from a copy of the letter, dated Fulta, on board the *Success* galley, made for John Debonnaire. Grant also wrote another *Account of the Manner of my Retreat from Calcutta*, which is found in the Orme Collections (O.V. 19, pp. 173-180).

[3] Debonnaire's version of the account adds: 'Our Military to defend it, exclusive of those at the Subordinate Factory, amounted only to 180 Infantry, of which

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On receiving the unexpected news of the loss of a place, we thought capable to stand out against any numbers of a country enemy while they had provisions, and with such artillery and stores as they generally use, It was thought proper to join the military captains and Engineer to the Council in order to form a Council of War, they were afterwards desired to retire to consider of the properest methods for the defence of the inhabitants and Town of Calcutta in case of an irruption of the Moors.[1] Accordingly we gave it as our oppinions that batterys should be erected in all the roads leading to the Fort at such distances as could be anywise defensible with the small number of troops we had that the inhabitants should be immediately formed into a body of Militia. All the carpenters and smiths in the place taken into the Fort to prepare carriages, the ammunition and stores put in the best order, and *Lascars* and *Cooleys* taken into pay for the use of the cannon and other works to be done, and likewise what *Sepoys* and *Peons* could be got to be formed into a body under the command of some European. It may be justly asked why we did not propose, the only method that as I thought then, and now do, could give us the least chance of defending the place, in case of a vigorous attack, the demolition of all the houses adjacent to the Fort and surrounding it with a ditch and glacee; But so litle credit was then given, and even to the very last day, that the Nabob would venture to attack us, or offer to force our lines, that it occasioned a generall grumbling and discontent to leave any of the European houses without them. Nay, the generallity wanted even to include every brick house in the place, Portuguese and Armenian, and thought it hard that any inhabitant should be deprived of protection against such an enemy. And should it be proposed by any person to demolish so many houses as would be necessary to make the Fort defensible, his oppinion would have

number there were not 40 Europeans and 36 Men of the Artillery Company, Sergeants and Corporals included; hardly a Gun on the Ramparts with a Carriage fit for Service.'

[1] Debonnaire's version adds: 'An Extensive Line was first formed for that intent. So Little notion had the People of any Vigorous attack, that it was esteemed sufficient to have a Battery of 1 or 2 Guns in each principal road to defend us from any attack of a Black Enemy; but the Consideration of our small number of Troop determined us to contract our Batterys to the places marked in the Plan.'

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been thought pusilanimous and ridiculous, had there been sufficient time to execute such a work: as there was not, nor would it be possible to destroy half the number in triple the time, especially as we had not powder sufficient to blow them up.

From the 7th to the 16th (when the Nabob's advanced guard attacked our redoubt at Perrins Gardens) all precautions were taken to forward every work that was thought necessary to be done.[1] The Militia was formed without loss of time, Mr. Manningham appointed Collonel, Frankland, Lt.-Collonel, and Messrs. Holwell, Macket and Mapletoft Captains; and Subalterns for 3 Companys. Our batterys were finished and our troops disposed of as you see them in the plan which since my coming on board I have endeavoured to sketch out from memory, to give you a better idea of our situation. . . .

Our stores and ammunition were in the utmost bad order when we begun our preparations, no cartridges of any kind ready: the small quantity of grape in store, had lyen by so long, that it was destroyed by the worms; no shells filled nor fuses prepared for small or great. The few that were thrown at the siege burst half way. There was 2 iron mortars, one of 13, and the (other) of 10 inches sent out about 3 years ago. The 10 inch mortar, we had just finished the bed for it, but the 13 inch one lay by useless for want of one; though there was upwards of 300 shells sent out for both, all that could be prepared was not above 20 and such as was thrown of them burst, some after quitting the mortar and others half way. We had but a small quantity of powder, and the greatest part of that damp. But you will be surprised to hear, that there was nothing known of this bad state of our stores and ammunition till the night before the Governor's retreat. . . .

Our intelligence of the Nabob's motions, and numbers was always very uncertain, and we could never be thorowly perswaded that he would advance against our batterys. . . .

In this situation we received advice from Ensign Paccard the 16th in the afternoon, that the enemy were then bringing up heavy cannon to play upon the redout and Sloop that lay before

[1] The Debonnaire version adds: 'Such was the Nabobs Rapidity, that in 12 days from his getting possession of Cossimbuzar he was with us at Calcutta.'

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it for the defence of the ditch.[1] He was immediately reinforced with an 18lb. the 2 brass fieldpieces and 40 men under the command of Lieut. Blagg being resolved to give them a warm reception on their approach. They had got six pieces of cannon playing on the redoubt and Sloop when the reinforcement arrived, but on our fieldpieces beginning to play they withdrew their cannon, and abandoned that post, inclining to the southward, where they had on the opposite side of the Ditch got possession of a *Top*[2] of Wood from whence they killed one of our Gentlemen Volunteers and 4 of the Military. They killed 4 Europeans on board the Sloop. Before dark the whole body inclined to the southward, and crossed the Ditch that surrounds the Black Town, the extent of it being so great, and passable in all parts, that it was impossible to do anything to interrupt them. Lieut. Blagg about 8 at night demanded a further reinforcement to cover his retreat, as he was apprehensive of the enemys advancing through some of the lanes to cut off his communication. Captain Clayton was ordered with a party to that purpose, who returned safe with Lieut. Blagg about 10 at night, and left Ensign Paccard in possession of the redoubt with his former detachment.[3]

Next morning being the 17th Monsieur le Beaume (who was a French officer, and left Chandnagor on a point of Honor) desired to be permitted to take possession of the Goal about 200 yards advanced before the battery A, and where three roads terminates into the place. He was accordingly ordered with 2 small cannon, 12 Military and Militia, and 40 *Buxeriés* or Gunners; he broke embrasures through the Goal House for the cannon, and made loop-holes all round for the musquetry. All this day the enemy

[1] The Maratha Ditch.

[2] Grove or orchard.

[3] The Debonnaire version amplifies this portion thus: 'On the Enemy's Approaching still more to the Southward, along the great Ditch that Surrounded the Town, and we having Intelligence they had crossed it, and taking Possession of Omychaund's Garden and the great road by it, the Reinforcement was ordered back from Perrins; and Ensign Paccard left in his post as before. The Enemys Cannon had play'd at the same time on a Sloop that lay'd cross to the Redoubt to recover the Ditch and killed 4 Europeans. We had no further molestation from [them] that Night, nor any further Intelligence than that they Occupied the Easterly corner of the Black town from Omychaund's Garden to the Bread and Cheese Bunglo, [and] that the Nabob himself had taken possession of Dum Dum House for his Head Quarters.'

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did not advance in sight of any of our batterys, but the plunderers annoyed the black inhabitants greatly. . . .

And on the plunderer's advancing into the Town, all the Portuguese familys crowded within our lines for protection to the number of some thousands.

The 18th in the morning the Enemy began to make their appearance in all quarters of the Town, but did not seem as if they would advance openly against our batterys. And by their method of advance we could foresee that they intended to force their way within our lines by taking possession of the different houses one after another. This caused us to reinforce such houses as we could most annoy them from as much as possible.[1] About 11 o'clock they brought up two pieces of Cannon against the Goal, one of them an 18 lb. by the size of the Ball. We advanced an Officer with 20 men and 2 Field pieces to reinforce Monsr. le Beaume, But the walls of the Goalhouse were so weak that they were hardly any defence against their Cannon. However they kept possession of it till about 2 when Le Beaume and Ensign Carstairs (who commanded the party) being both wounded, and numbers of their men killed, had liberty to retire within Captain Clayton's battery. The enemy instantly took possession of that post. . . .

The superiority of their numbers under cover of the houses at all quarters made it impossible for our people to withstand such showers of small shott, as they fired into the Houses we had possession of. They first broke into our lines through Mr. Nixon's House and fixed their collours (as is their custom every inch of ground they gain) at the corner of the tank. We were now obliged to abandon the breastwork close to Mr. Puthams and all the houses of that Square, the enemy in multitudes taking posses-

[1] From a *Narrative of the Loss of Calcutta*, by Captain Mills (Orme Collections, O.V. 19, pp. 77-92), it appears that Monsieur Lebeaune had advanced down the 'Avenue to Eastward'—i.e., Bow Bāzār—as far as the Circular Road or 'Cross Roads.' Mills says: 'On the 18th June about 9 in the morning our out works were attacked by small partys in the skirts of the town. We dispatched several small partys to the tops of several of the highest houses near hand to annoy the enemy, and Monsieur La Bonne with a party of Malitia and Volunteers and two field pieces to guard the cross roads. . . . Monsieur La Bonne, who retired to the Jail house with his party bravely defended it for six hours.'

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sion of each of them. They brought some heavy pieces of cannon through the lane twixt Minchin and Puthams houses and planted them at the corner of the Tank and door of Mr. Nixon's to play upon us as we passed and repassed to and from the Batterys. . . .

This situation of the enemy exposed the battery B to have its communication cut off from the Fort, as the enemy might surround them in the rear by advancing through the lane that passes by Captain Grant's and between Captains Buchanan and Witherington's House; It was therefore thought necessary to order Captain Buchanan to retire with his Cannon to the Battery D where 2 Embrasures had been opened in expectation of such a retreat. I think it was about 4 afternoon when I delivered this order and I then proceeded to Captain Clayton's battery at A where they had the warmest part of the attack since our retreat from the Goal at 2, by the enemy's keeping possession of all the houses round it and though we sent an 18 pounder (which by that time we had got mounted on a truck carriage, and were obliged to have drawen to the battery by the Militia in the Fort all our *Lascars* and *Cooleys* having abandoned us) in order to play upon the houses which the Enemy possessed, they still not only maintained their ground but advanced apace through one house to another, This occasioned Captain Holwell to go in person to the Governor, whether by a representation of the state they were in or at his own request he obtained an order to abandon that battery; which having been of the utmost consequence, ought not to have been done but by a determination of a Council of War: especially as there was not such numbers killed, but it might have been easily maintained, at least till dark. On my Arrivall at the Battery I found all the guns spiked, except the two field pieces, with which they were then ready to Retreat.

I found by this time Captain Buchanan had likewise received orders to retire from the battery D upon what account I know not. Captain Smith's Battery at C was also ordered to be abandoned as maintaining that alone could answer no end, which was very regular done, and their guns brought to the Fort Gate. The next thing considered of, was a disposition for the defence of the Fort, which was all that was left us now to maintain: for, few expected that the batterys would have been so suddenly quitted,

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and most people foresaw that the fall of them would be attended with fatall consequences, as the enemy's getting possession of the houses contiguous to the Fort, such as Cruttenden's, Eyre's, the Church and the Company's all of them the strongest *Pucka*, would in such a manner command the bastions and ramparts, that it would be impossible to stand at the guns, exposed to the small arms of such a multitude as would occupy those and other houses, especially as the parapets of the bastions were very low, and the embrasures so wide that they hardly afforded any shelter. We had cotton bales and sandbaggs, which might in some measure supply this defect, but were so abandoned by all sorts of labourers that we could not get them carried upon the ramparts. And our military and Militia so harrassed for want of rest and refreshments, that it was impossible to get them to do anything. This consideration determined us to take possession of the above houses and Church with the troops retired from the out batterys. The detachment in the Company's House finding the enemy had got possession of Captain Ranney's, thought that their post on the approach of day, would not be tenible, and that their communication might be cut off by their being surrounded in the lane that leads to the waterside along the new *Godowns*, where there was no guns to flank, so applied to the Governor and obtained leave to abandon it, in which situation it was left all night.

About one in the morning a second Council of War was called, to consider of our then situation, and what in all probability we might expect it to be on the approach of Day. As likewise, from every circumstance considered, for what time we might reasonably expect to maintain the Fort. The Captain of the Artillery was first asked what quantity of amunition we had then in store (you must observe the Governor never procured a return of it) and for what time he thought it would last according to the expences of the day past. His answer was, that at the same rate, it would not be sufficient for above three days, and even a part of that, he was affraid was damp. This of itself, but added to the other circumstances, still more, made it the unanimous oppinion that a retreat on board the ships must be determined on in that time, should no circumstances intervene to make it sooner necessary; as nothing but the utmost barbarity was expected from our enemy in

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case of surrender, as by fatall experience we have found to be the case, with such as fell into his hands. The majority were of opinion that as such a retreat was already fixed on, the delay of it even 'till next morning could be attended with no sort of advantage, but might on the contrary produce such consequences as would either make it impracticable, or attended with the greatest risque and precipitation. For instance, did the enemy get possession of the houses we then occupied and the Company's, there was but little to prevent their forcing oppen the two barriers that lead to the Fort from the Company's House and Cruttenden's. And from those two houses they might keep such a fire on the Gaut and Wharff, as would make it impossible for a boat to lye there; either of which would have effectually prevented our retreat. By making our retreat that night, though late, having a sufficient number of boats then at the *Gaut*, we might, at least, have carryed off all the Company's Treasure, and secured every European safe on board before daylight. This opinion Mr. Holwell in particular maintained very strenuously, and several other Gentlemen. By break of day, finding the enemy had neglected in the night to take possession of the Company's House and Ensign Paccard (who had been ordered from Perrins) having offered to maintain it with 20 military, his proposall was readily agreed to. The other outpost had been but little disturbed in the night, the enemy having satisfied themselves with setting some houses on fire, and taking possession of those from which they thought they could annoy us in the day, such as Captain Rannie's, Messrs. Watts's, Tooks's and Omichaund's to the east of Eyres's and all the houses from Mr. Eyres's to Mr. Griffiths likewise the Hospitall, Captain Clayton's and Captain Wedderburn's to the southward, and had brought some cannon to the gate of Mr. Bellamy's compound, as well as behind the battery A which we abandoned, and in the compound of the Playhouse. From all these different places they kept a constant fire on the houses we occupied, as well as upon the ramparts. About 9 o'clock, Lieutenant Bishop who commanded in Mr. Eyres House desired leave to retire, being no longer able to support himself against the fire of some thousands from the houses to the eastward and Northward of him. He was ordered if possible to maintain his post till evening, but the fire

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thickening, and numbers of his men killed and wounded he was permitted to make his retreat. About the same time Ensign Paccard was brought in wounded, and the enemy had filled the compound of the Company's House. Captain Clayton found himself very warmly attacked in the Church from the Cannon planted behind our battery and in the Playhouse compound, and the small arms from the houses. He had severall of his men killed with the cannon shott which came through the Church. The outposts were then all ordered to be withdrawn.[1] We fired on the enemy wherever they appeared from all the guns on the Fort, and must have done terrible execution amongst them, but did not much contribute to slacken their fire. Betwixt 10 and 11 we were allarmed on the ramparts by a report that the enemy were forcing their way at the barrier that leads from the Company's House to the Wharff. But when I came down I found it to be false, they were not then advanced so far. On my return to the Back Gate, I observed the Governor standing on the stairhead of the *Gaut*, I came up to him to know if he had any commands, but found him only beckoning to his servant who stood in a *Ponsay* a little above the *Gaut*. I saw numbers of boats setting off from different places with Europeans in them. I concluded the retreat to be generall, and that everyone who could lay hold of a conveyance would choose to escape falling into the Hands of a merciless ennemy, and so with Mr. O'Hara thought it justifyable to follow the Governor in a

[1] Debonnaire's version adds: 'Our Bastions were in a very improper state to be maintained against such a close fire of small arms, as was now likely to Command them from so many adjacent houses; all of them the strongest Pecca Work, and all most proof against our Mettal on the Bastions. And the Parapets were not 4 foot high and only 3 in thickness [and] the Embrasures were so wide that they afforded but little shelter to our Men at the Guns.' In the *Account* found in the Orme Collections I find the following additional statements: 'The Guard settled in the Company's House was soon after, on application made by some of the young gentlemen to the Governor ordered to be withdrawn, and that advantageous post left to be taken possession of by the enemy; whereby they would not only have a total command of the two Southerly Bastions and Curtain, but likewise of the Wharf and *Gaut* where all our boats lay, and consequently have it in their power to obstruct our communication with the River. . . . About 10 o'clock I received an alarm, when on the South East Bastion, that the enemy had got possession of the Compound of the Company's House, and were forcing their way through the barrier that leads from thence to the Fort; but when I came there, I found the report to be false.

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state of such apparent Confusion and disorder. The ships fell down just within sight of the Town; We could hear all the afternoon a constant (*sic*) of cannon. The place was taken next day the 20th afternoon, about 30 hours after the Governor left it, during which time upwards of 50 Europeans were killed on the bastions by the enemy's small arms from Mr. Cruttenden's, Eyres's, the Church and the Company's House. The firing was so hot from the top of the Church that they at last were obliged to abandon the easterly courtain and bastions. About 3 afternoon they made a signal for a truce; on which our people desisted firing. But they treacherously made use of it to crowd in multitudes under the walls, and with some ladders and bamboos scaled the easterly curtain and bastions which was abandoned under cover of their fire from the Church and other houses. Numbers were cut to pieces on the walls, all who wore red coats, without mercy. And such as were so unhappy as to be taken prisoners were at night put into the Black Hole, a place about 16 foot square, to the number of near 200 Europeans, Portugeese and Armenians, of which many were wounded. They were so crowded one upon another in this narrow confinement that by the heat and suffocation not above ten of the number survived 'till morning. There is about 3 or 4,000 troops in Calcutta they keep possession of the Fort; but have destroyed the Factory House.[1]

277. Account of the Loss of Calcutta by Watts and Collet.

Extract from Abstract of Letter from the late Chief and Council of Cossimbuzar, dated Chandernagore, July 16, 1756. *Paragraphs* 1 *and* 2. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol.* 6.

1. Fort William was taken the 20th Ultimo by the Nabob of Bengal Grandson of Alli Verdi Caun, who died last March, the Rise of the Troubles were Vizt.

2. Narrain Sing a Considerable Officer being sent by the Nabob privately and in disguise with a letter to the President, he refused to receive it and turned Narrain disgracefully out of Calcutta, this was seemingly hushed up with the Durbar Officers by the

[1] The Debonnair version adds, 'and the Church.'

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Chief of Cossimbuzar, when after a few days, the Nabob ordered the Works he heard were carrying on at Calcutta to be levell'd, which the Chief &c^{a} pleaded ignorance of and attributed the false reports to their Enemies, the Nabob in a Perwana to Calcutta insisted on his Order; On his March to Patna (as he gave out) at Rajamaul he received the Governours Answer at which being greatly incensed, he presently invested their Factory with 30,000 Men and a large Train of Artillery, insisting on the Chiefs coming out to him, who, on the Unanimous Opinion of the Council &c^{a} after having received great Assurances of Safety went, was immediately confin'd and forc'd by the Nabob to give an Obligation that the Works at Calcutta should be levelled in fifteen days, the Nabobs Tenants who had been protected at Calcutta delivered up, and Satisfaction made for such abuse of Dusticks as should be proved.

278. ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF CALCUTTA BY THE COUNCIL.

Extracts from Abstract of Letter from the late President and Council of Fort William at Fultah in Bengal River, September 17, 1756. *Paragraphs* 1, 2, 8-11. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol.* 6.

1. They are greatly concerned by this conveyance to Vizagapatam to send the disagreeable News of an Event of the Utmost Consequence to the Company's Trade, they will now give only a General and hereafter a particular Account thereof.

2. The Line next the River in Consequence of The Companys Order per *Delawar* repairing a Perwannah came from the Nabob Seerajah Dowlah, who succeeded Aliverdi Cawn forbidding them to erect any new Works or to dig a Ditch. . . .

8. Surrender of Cossimbuzar, account thereof was received the 7th June with the Particulars of Mr. Watts's being made Prisoner (related in his beforegoing Letter) and that the Nabob was marching to Calcutta with 50,000 Men and a very Large Train of Artillery.

9. Calcutta extremely open to the Land was now put into the best posture of defence by such Outworks as the time would admit of making, a Militia summoned and trained, and every thing in their power prepared to sustain an attack.

10. The Van of the Nabobs Army appeared the 16th June

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before Perrins Redoubt whence they were repulsed with the loss of numbers, decamped in the night, and entered the Town to the Eastward, which could not be prevented,[1] on the 18th they attacked the Lines very warmly, obliged one of the Batteries to retire and the recall of the others that they might not be cutt off.

11. The Fort was vigorously attacked the 19th and part of the 20th from the Adjacent Houses and the Church, many being destroyed the rest harrassd with continual Duty overpowered by Numbers and the Walls being scaled in the Evening, it was surrendered on promise of Civil Treatment to the Prisoners.

279. HOLWELL'S ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF CALCUTTA.

Extract from Abstract of Letter from Mr. J. Z. Holwell to the Governour and Council at Bombay. Murshidābād, July 17, 1756. *Paragraphs* 1-3. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol.* 6.

1. He now generally relates the Steps whereby the Company have Sustained the Important Loss of Fort William and refers to a particular and distinct Narrative thereof which he will attempt as soon as the Recovery of his health shall enable him.

2. Cossimbuzar being given up the 4th of June to the Nabob with its Cannon &c[a] determined him to extirpate the English from Bengal, he marched against Fort William with the whole Force of his Provinces viz. 30,000 Horse, 35,000 Foot and 400 Elephants of War tho' Accounts made it but 22,000, all at Cossimbuzar were prisoners, intelligence therewith cutt off and what their Spies gave not to be depended on. The Best Dispositions, that a fortress never less defensible could admit of, were made, Advanced Posts appointed and Batteries raised &c[a] a Muster of 5 or 600 Effectives was expected of Europeans Blacks Militia and Mariners but only 45 Train and 145 Foot returned and of these only 60

[1] Not by incompetent persons such as Drake, Frankland, and Captain Minchin, but a competent and enterprising commander would have utilized the strong position left by Colonel Scott at Perrin's, and, concentrating every available man in an entrenched camp to the north of Calcutta, would thence have fallen upon the Nabob on the morning of June 17 or June 18, and in all probability put him to flight. Instead of concentrating for a flank attack on the enemy at the point carefully selected long ago by Scott, the Council scattered their small force about in Calcutta in a number of hastily chosen positions, where they were overwhelmed by the numbers of the enemy.

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Europeans, the Mariners being draughted off for 30 Vessels in Port and several useless Persons discharged the Garrison including Officers did not consist of 250 Men.

3. Provisions were prohibited 7th June from all Sides the 10th and 13th the Nabobs Troops possessd themselves of Tanners Fort commanding the River below, efforts for dislodging them were ineffectual. 16th Baagbazar Redoubt was attack'd, and the Enemy repulsed with considerable Loss, here Mr. Ralph Thoresby a hopefull Volunteer was kill'd[1] the 17th 700 Buckserries taken into pay on this occasion fled to a man, this and the Succeeding Night and day the 18th being continually alarmed, harrassed and attacked, the advanced post at the Goal, Gallantly defended by Monsr. Le Beaume and Ensign Carstairs, the advanced post at the Court House and those to the Northward and Southward were relinquished and the Party recalld from Baagbazar, the Enemy having possession of the Houses all round, this Evening it was resolved to embark the Companys Treasure Books and the European Ladies whom Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel of the Militia were to conduct aboard, and contrary to expectation did not return no more than Messrs. Mapletoft, H. Wedderburn, W. Sumner, C. Douglas, Militia Officers and 15 Volunteers, many of the Militia deserted this and next day. At a Council of War the 18th in the night, they were Thunder Struck with a Report from the Captain of the Train that but 3 days Ammunition remained. He apprehends a Retreat with the Garrison and all the Companys Effects was determined on in his presence to be attempted in the night of the 19th, that morning about 9 President Drake, Commandant Minchin, Mr. Mackett, Captain Grant Adjutant General, Lieutenant O'Hara of the Train, privately withdrew, deserted the

[1] The original letter, which is to be found in *Bengal Letters Received*, Vol. III., says: 'On the 17th all our Buckserries to the Number of near 700 taken the most of them into our Pay on this Occasion fled to a Man from our Outchowkeys, and I believe deserted to the Enemy. Early this Day our principal Post to the Northward by Mr. Griffiths was attacked and something later that at the Court House by Flying partys from the Streets and Houses, whilst a Multitude of other detached Partys from the Nabob's Army were plundering and destroying every part of the Town to the Northward these two advanced Posts were continually alarmed and harrassed this whole Day and the succeeding Night and Day.'

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Factory, embarked and fell down the River, leaving no means for effecting a General Retreat, and before any attack had been made on the Fort; hence the Utmost Confusion and Tumults arose, and He at the General Entreaty was by the remaining Council, Mr. Pearkes waving his Seniority, appointed Governour &c[a] during the Troubles and acknowledged such by the whole Garrison, who were quieted with the promise of 3 Chests Treasure, for a defence till the whole could retreat, he assuring them he would be the last man that quitted the fort, the Council having suspended the Governour, the other Members and Officers for their Treachery to the whole Garrison and Breach of Trust to the Company. A Retreat attempted to be secured by the Companys Ship *Prince George* stationed at Baagbazar, but she could not be got down lower than Mr. Watt's House and was useless.[1] The remainder of the day of the 19th the Fort was incessantly attacked with small Arms and from 5 batteries of Eighteen Pounders, yet these would not have made a breach in 12 days, but were much galled by the Small Arms from the adjoining Houses, from whence the Enemy were frequently dislodged with great Slaughter, and at length fired and abandoned them. The 20th in the Morning 3 Assaults were formed against the N. W. Bastion &c[a] and an Escalade attempted to the Northward, in this they were repulsed with great loss before noon and an Assault for some Hours ensued,

[1] The original letter says: 'I had hardly gone round the ramparts, before the Enemy attacked the Fort incessantly the whole remainder of the Day from their Batteries and small Arms, of the former from the Battery We had raised at the Court House from another they had erected in Mr. Allsops Compound between the Court House and the Jail from a third erected at the S W Corner of the Park from a fourth in the Reverend Mr. Bellamys Compound and from a small Battery they had raised at the Dock Head. They fired so wildly from their Batteries they would not have made a Breach in a Twelve Month though they fired from 18 pounders but their small Arms from the Houses round as particularly the Companys Captain Rannies and Mr. Cruttendens annoyed as much from whence we several Times dislodged them with great Slaughter and obliged them at last to set fire to them and abandon them—the 19th at Night our People had some recess, but were obliged to sleep on their Arms, the 20th in the Morning the Enemy formed three Assaults at Once against the North West Bastion against the North West Futtock or Barrier and against the Windows of the Labritory on the Eastern Curtain and attempted to scale to the Northward—from each of these Assaults they were beat off with great loss to them before Noon and a general Cessation in a manner ensued for some Hours.'

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when finding 25 Killd 70 Wounded, but 14 of the Train remaining and only two Hours Ammunition left; in the Evening a flag of Truce was thrown out to amuse the Assailants and that the best retreat that could, might be made in the night to the *Prince George* which they were ignorant of being ashore, during the Parley the Back Gate was betrayed to the Enemy (as judged) by its guard, in concert with some deserters, He having the Key in his possession, so that they were reduced to resolve on a Surrender at discretion.

280. Cooke's Account of the Loss of Calcutta.

Extracts from Account of the Loss of Calcutta by John Cooke, Esq., who was in the Black Hole, June, 1756, and from Queries from R. Orme to Mr. Cooke on the Siege of Calcutta, June, 1756, and Mr. Cooke's Answers, January, 1762. Orme Collection, India, IV.

About this juncture, [the accession of 'Surajah Dowla] the Company's packet per *Delawar* was received from Madras, by which we found the greatest likelihood imaginable of a rupture between us and France, and the Court of Directors particularly recommended to the Governor and Council to be strictly on their guard, and to put their fortifications in the best state of defence they could. In consequence of these advices, the line of guns towards the river was repaired and strengthened, and some other trifling works erected; particularly a redoubt at Perrins garden, which had been planned by Colonel Scott. This circumstance is mentioned, as the Subah made it one of his pretences for attacking the English. . . .

On the 6th of June it was currently reported (but nobody knew from whence it arose) that Cossimbuzar was delivered up to the Nabob. The Governor thereupon ordered a survey of the Town to be made and the works necessary for its defence to be laid before the Board by the Officers in garrison, which was accordingly done the next day. The plan was to throw up a few batteries fronting the principal avenues in the town, and a line of entrenchments between, which was immediately set about, and every Cooley employed to get it done. . . .

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Cooke's Answers to Orme's Queries.

How many Guns did each of the bastions of Calcutta mount, what was their Calibre. The same of the Godowns to the South?

The bastions mounted 10 guns each to the land side, and 8 to the river side, nine and twelve pounders. Those on the Godowns to the South were only two and three pounders, about 10 or 12.

How many Guns and of what Calibre were on each of the Batteries, that by the Jail, that to the North, and that to the South?

Each of the Batteries had two pieces of cannon mounted. That to the North only twelve pounders, the other two had eighteen pounders. . . .

Mr. Orme has forgot the exact spot in which the Battery to the North was erected?

It was thrown up directly across the street that ran by Mr. Jackson's and that row of houses to the Seats dwelling, &c.; and erected between the Salt petre Godown and Mr. Griffith's house, so as to take in both those buildings into the Lines.

280. RENNIE'S ACCOUNT OF THE LOSS OF CALCUTTA.

Extract from Reflections on the Loss of Calcutta, June, 1756, by Captain David Rennie, a Mariner. Orme Collection, India, IV.

The causes of the Moors success were principally four besides the Encouragement, Arms and Ammunition they got at Cossimbuzar, Viz.: want of military men, military stores, a weak fort,[1] a church and many houses so near as in a great measure to command the fort. . . .

The fort of Calcutta stood near North and South parallel to the bank of the river, differing from a long square or paralelgram by having the northend not quite so wide as the southend. The Curtain towards the land (or the East curtain) had 6 or 8 windows through it, and each corner was a small bastion that

[1] Want of military men and military stores are sufficient reasons to account for the loss of Calcutta. Had there been sufficient stores in Calcutta, and a commander of any ability to use them, the weakness of the fort would not have mattered much. The English commanded the river. They could have taken up a strong position north of Calcutta, from which they could have attacked the Nabob, and forced him to form front to his right flank.

[NOTE.—*The proofs were finally revised by the author only up to the end of Vol. II., p.* 64.]

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flanked the curtains with two guns, and flanked 3 each way, 3 strong upper room brick houses, and the Church all inclosed with a brick wall stood within a pistol shot of the fort, these were Mr. Cruttenden's, at the northend the Company's house, At the south end about the middle of the East Curtain stood the Church, and Mr. Eyres house close to the northeast bastion. These houses filled with musketry rendered it impossible to keep upon the bastions, neither was there time after taking Cossimbuzar, nor powder to spare to blow them up and level them, tho' had even that been done the fort would have been scarce defensible for the following reason. About 15 years ago the Company being in want of Warehouses, Governor Braddyll built a very large one against the south end of the fort. It was nearly square for it extended from the South east to the South west bastion, and projected 60 or 80 feet beyond them, by these means these two bastions were rendered of very little use for defending the South end of the fort, for the curtain between them was now become the inner wall of a warehouse, and a large passage broke thro' it into the fort, by way of a door to this new warehouse, the outer or South wall of this Warehouse, being now in place of the curtain was not stronger than a common house wall, it was also full of very large windows, and by projecting beyond the Bastions, could not be flanked by their guns, It is true there was a Terrace and Parapet with embrasures upon this warehouse, but the Terrace would only bear a two pounder, and the parapet was only three feet high, how easy then was it for guns and musketry from all the houses, and the space from the town hall to the burying ground, (that is from East to South) to drive men from this Terrace? And there was nothing after this to prevent them from scaling the warehouse wall, which was equal in height to the Curtain, and joined both to it and the Bastions. . . .

The Company wrote out by the *Delawar*, and last year, to put the place in a better state of defence, but they were not in cash for such works (and there was not 50,000 Rupees in the treasure when taken) private instructions likewise I believe restrained them in the article of expence, there was no proper Engineer, and tho' money if wanted could be borrowed, yet that is what our Company are extremely averse to.

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281. Tooke's Account of the Loss of Calcutta.

Extract from Narrative of the Loss of Calcutta by William Tooke. Orme Collection, India, IV.

In the mean time [that is while the Companies of Militia were formed on the news of the loss of Cossimbazar] Messrs. Simpson and O'Hara, Engineers, with a great number of Cooleys, were employed throwing up a breastwork 7 foot high and 6 wide, with a ditch 12 foot deep and nine wide, at the saltpetre Godowns; another at the Court house and another to the Southward, a little without the fossèe;[1] which being compleatly effected without the least molestation, were each of them supplied with two six pounders, and also with two field pieces (six pounders) and Chevaux de Frizes, and with a quantity of Crow's feet, &c. &c., to strew on the grand roads where it was judged the attack would be made; all the narrow passes leading to the Town, were also furnished with a ditch and breastwork, but not supplied with cannon; And Intrenchments were begun to be thrown up across the park, with a ravelin to defend the front gate of the Factory, but had no time to finish them.

282. Drake's Account of the Loss of Calcutta.

Extract from Narrative of the Succession of Surajah Dowlah and of the Siege of Calcutta, June, 1756, by Governor Drake. Fulta, July 19, 1756. Orme Collection, India, IV.

On receipt of the Court of Directors letter per Ship *Delawar* we were acquainted there was great probability of a war breaking out with France and warning the settlement of Calcutta to be on their guard, workmen were immediately employed to repair and put in order the rampart and line of guns by the water side; the military Store keeper had orders to prepare and make fit for use gun carriages a sufficient number of oxen were also procured to work night and day in making of gunpowder which seeming preparations for war came to the Nabob's ears who immediately wrote a letter to the Governour requiring that we should not only desist from carrying on any new works but demolish our redoubt and drawbridge at Perrin's and fill up the ditch dug round the Town

[1] Here was Mr. Burrow's house.

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when the Morrattoes first invaded the country in the year 1743 and for which works we had thanks from the late Nabob as our town was then an Asylum to many of his subjects who brought and sent great riches to be there deposited. . . .

The Engineers and officers in pursuance of this Order [to draw out a plan of defence] Surveyed the place and delivered their opinion thereon, which was to Contract the Lines in a narrower Compass than was at first intended That our Posture of defence might be the Sooner Compleated Their proposition was that Instant ordered to be Set about and every white Inhabitant furnished what materials they had to finish the work as soon as hands could perform it. . . .

In pursuance of our last resolution of contracting our Lines the engineers threw up three Batteries in the principal avenues of the town one to the Eastward adjoining to the Mayors Court house and running cross that road to the park on which were mounted two guns one nine pounder and one six pounder with an embrasure pointing to the Southward down the rope walk for another gun in case the enemy made an irruption there; another battery was erected to the Southward of the Town close to the house of Mr. Burrow running across that road with the same number and weight of guns; The third battery guarded the northward avenues and ran across the road from Mr. Griffith's house to the waterside on which were mounted two six pounders. These were the only guns ready on the occasion having none of heavier metal mounted on good carriages; The small avenues behind these three Batteries were defended by Breastworks and intervening spaces were left to be defended by the walls of the houses: A Raveline was likewise thrown up before the front gate of our factory; The several roads were likewise cut through and bridges broke down. This was thought to be the best defence that could be made at so short a warning.

Mr. Watts and his Council setting forth that Souragud Dowlet was particularly disgusted at the new redoubt and drawbridge erected at Baagbazar on the plan of Colonel Scot and at an Octagon built at Mr. Kelsalls garden which was represented to him as a strong fortification On receipt of that letter the bridge was taken up and we replied that if the pulling down of the

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Octagon would be satisfactory it should be immediately set about. . . . The utmost diligence was now used to finish our Batteries Ravelin and outworks providing quantities of provision exercising our militia and preparing in every respect to stand a siege. . . . The forces to be disposed to receive the attack of the Nabob his army were marched off the Parade [the 11th June] in the following manner, To the Court house Battery . . . 98 Under the command of Captains Clayton and Holwell with three subaltern officers. To the Southern battery . . . 98 Under the command of Captains Buchanan and Mackett with three subalterns, To the Northern Battery 68 Under the command of Captain Lieutenant Smith and Mapletoft with three Subalterns; For Garrison duty in the fort were allotted the Armenian and Portugueze Militia. . . . The remaining 25 Military were posted at the Redoubt of Baag Bazaar under the command of Ensign Paccard. . . . The 14th June we appointed three field officers Viz[t] Colonel Manningham Lieutenant Colonel Frankland and Commandant Minchin each to take his day in four and to visit the out batteries now compleated. . . . Frequent alarms of the near approach of the enemy made us resolve to make as clear a passage as we could to oppose the attack for which purpose we set fire to all the straw houses within our lines which fire spread itself to a much greater distance . . . the 16th June in the evening our own women were Called into the fort. . . . Before noon [on the 17th] 4 or 500 of the enemy entered into that part of the town inhabited by our black Merchants setting fire all about and plundering what they could find . . . another step pursued this day was to take possession of the Goal which commanded the grand avenues leading to the Eastern battery There we posted two small guns mounted on ship carriages and made loop holes fronting that battery. . . .

The Goal being evacuated by our people [on the 19th June] the Moors immediately took possession thereof, the playhouse and other adjacent houses having cannon planted under cover of a wall close to the playhouse from these their possessions they kept so hot and continual a fire on our Eastern battery and on the houses we had pretended to guard As to force those small parties to quit their station and retire to Captain Clayton and Holwell

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their command. The enemy lost no advantage having thrown in great numbers between the houses of Messrs. Margas and Minchin occupying every place which could command the Eastern battery. . . .

About seven in the evening of the 18th June it was agreed that the Church situated about thirty yards distance from our front gate should be possessed by Captain Clayton with a party of 25 Militia and Military that Lieutenant Bishop should with the same number post himself in Mr. Eyre his house close to the Church on the Northward and which entirely commanded the Northeast Bastion of the fort Captain Lieutenant Smith and a party of 30 Military and Militia was ordered to Mr. Cruttenden's house directly opposite Mr. Eyres and situated within twenty yards to the Northward of the fort and which commanded the whole Northeast curtains with the North East and North West Bastions Lieutenant Blagg was posted in the Company's house situated to the Southward of the fort with 25 Military and Militia and which commanded the South curtain South East and South West Bastions. . . . Soon after Lieutenant Blagg requested that he and his party might have orders to retreat into the fort as they found the Company's house so annoyed from Captain Rannies which was situated close to the Southward. . . . At Eleven at night . . . but one Bastion answered the Challenge [to beat to arms] which was given from the Veranda of the new Consultation room.

283. Another Account by Holwell.

Extract from a Letter from J. Z. Holwell to George Pigot, President of Fort St. George, dated Hugli, August 3, 1756, *in the Madras Select Committee Consultations, September* 28, 1756, *Range C., Vol. L.*

In my Letter of the 17th July I omitted mentioning the Enemy having made a Lodgement on the Church in the Morning of the 20th but they did not finish their Breast Work of Bales upon it, untill after Twelve—from this Post which commanded every Line and Bastion of the Fort, the Enemy must have been dislodg'd by a Counter Lodgement upon the Top of the Factory House, had there been Ammunition to have maintain'd the Fort any longer.

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284. Reports of Calcutta.

Extracts from Bengal Select Committee Consultations, on board the Grampus *Sloop. Fulta, September* 20 *and* 23, *and November* 23, 1756. *Range A., Vol. I.*

Padre Bento's report of Calcutta.

September 20.—Padre Bento of the 16 from Chincura advises the Honourable the President, that he had remained from the 1st to the 25th Ulto. at Calcutta, where there were then 1,000 or 1,500 Sea Poys, and that they had mounted most of the Honourable Company's Cannon on the Battery facing the River, for which they had made new Carriadges, very bad and unfit for Service, that there were few Guns mounted on the bastions, and none on the Curtain; He is since informed by People he can depend on, that there were only 1,000 Men, in Garrison at Calcutta, that at Tanna's Fort there were 200 Men, 11 Guns, four 2 Pounders, one 24 pounder, and 6 more unfit for service with only four Portuguese Gunners, that at Bugee Bugee there were 800 Men about 20 good Guns, and 50 or 60 Portuguese little better than Cooleys that at Hughley there are 500 Men of which 40 are in the Fort, the rest being quarter'd on the Gonge a place a little above Bandel, they have there also 10 unserviceable Guns and some old Portuguese Gunners. He further adds that the Spunges for the Guns were that day sent up to Muxadavad, and that the 4 Forts seem'd all ready to run away upon the first Alarm.

Mr. Gregory's Report.

September 23.—Mr. Gregory of the 19th, from Chincura, says; that in going up the River he had a particular View of Tanna's Fort where there is one 18 Pounder facing down the River, tyed to the Carriage with Ropes, and that there were 7 more nine Pounders fronting the river; and that there are several large Breaches in the Wall at the two Points.

Contents of a Letter to Mr. Holwell.

November 23.—By a Letter of Intelligence to Mr. Holwell received the 16th Current we are informed of their Situation at Calcutta with Respect to the Fort and Batteries, and are informed

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that the four Bastions there are certainly undermined, with 4 Chests of Powder under each; further that they intend to sink the two Vessels at Tannas in the narrow Channel of the River there.

285. Noble's Account of Colonel Scott.[1]

Extract from a Letter from Charles Frederick Noble to the President and Council at Fort St. George, dated at Fort St. George, September 22, 1756, read in Consultation, September 24, 1756. Madras Select Committee Consultations, Range C., Vol. L.

The Military Works and Fortifications he intended, and was empower'd to erect in Calcutta could not be compleated in many Years, Therefore he thought of making some slighter Works for the more immediate Defence of the Place (against the Blow he saw impending, and which we have now unfortunately receiv'd) a Plan of which he presented to the Governor and Council, and which was approv'd and set about Directly—He ordered the Ditch that he found had already been carried on half round the Town, to be widen'd and deepen'd, and to be carried on, quite round, Draw-Bridges and Redoubts to defend them, to be erected at 3 or 4 places, And two larger Redoubts to be erected, one at each Extremity of the Town by the River Side, not only to command the River, but to defend the Draw Bridges there, and the Sluices for fitting and emptying the Ditch; with many other Works for the Preservation of the Town in case of a sudden Attack, before the more regular Works could be accomplished—But his Departure from Bengal a little thereafter, hinder'd their progress, though he left Mr. Wells Engineer, to carry them on in his Absence according to particular Directions left with him for that Purpose, and his Death put a Stop to them.

Having now given a short Account of the Colonel's Transactions, and the Observations he made relating to the Country Government, and the Company's Affairs there, (which I have not

[1] Noble, who was Scott's secretary, and had recently arrived at the fort, gives the 'Observations and Sentiments' of his 'late worthy Friend and Patron Colonel Scott' as to the 'people, Government, Military Strength &c[a]' of Bengal; also an account of Colonel Scott's relations with 'Omy Chund,' 'Alliverde Caun,' etc., and his plans for introducing military discipline into Calcutta.

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now time enough to do so fully or so regularly as I could wish to do) I shall now communicate to you some very important Schemes and Projects, the relation of several Military Operations and remarks on our Military Strength in these Countries, that were communicated to him by some of the most experienc'd and discerning Men of that Country, both Natives and others, And which I have been careful in preserving, together with some 100 Pages of others that I have not time at present to present you with.

I think they may be of Service to us in our present Exigencies, tho' they were design'd for happier Times; and are as follows. 1st. A Project for conquering the Kingdom of Bengal. 2d. A Critical Relation of some of our Military Operations against the Nabob or Country Forces in Bengal, and Observations on the use of a Train of Artillery in that Country.

3d. Proposals for forming a Militia Force in Bengal. 4th. A List of the great Lords and Gentlemen of the Court of Muxudavad, Nabobs, Rajahs &c[a].

5th. The Names of the several Villages, Towns, Buzars, Creeks &c[a], on both Sides the River Hugelie, from Calcutta to the City of Muxudavad.

6th. The Route from Calcutta to the Imperial City of Delhi by Land, the Distances from place to place and Days Journeys.

I have a plan of the Kingdom of Bengal, which tho' far from being Correct, yet is the best I have yet been able to procure, and which as it may also be of Service in the Expedition, so I shall endeavor to present you with a Copy of it, But as I am myself a little fatigued with having sat up both Day and Night in preparing what I now send you I am afraid I shall not be able to have that or any thing else I could wish to communicate for the good of the Service, before the Departure of the Troops without some Assistance; Therefore if you think it worthy your while to have them, you will be pleas'd to order me such Assistance.

By what Collonel Scott observed in Bengal the Jentue Rajahs and Inhabitants were very much disaffected to the Moor Government, and secretly wish'd for a Change, and Opportunity of throwing off their Tyranical Yoke. And was of Opinion that if an European Force began successfully that they would be inclin'd to

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join them if properly applied to and encouragd, but might be cautious how they acted at first 'till they had a probability of Success in bringing about a Revolution to their Advantage.

286. Orme on the Loss of Calcutta.

Extract from Narrative of the Loss of Calcutta, composed by R. Orme at Madras, October, 1756. Orme Collection, India, IV.

The river Ganges forms a Crescent between two points, the one called Perring's Garden, the other Surman's Garden. The distance between these, measuring along the bank of the river, is about three miles and a half. In the deepest part of this crescent about the middle between the two points is situated Fort William, a building which many an old house in the country exceeds in its defences. It is situated a few paces from the river side, on the bank of which runs a line of guns, the whole length of the fort from North to South, and this the only formidable part, as it is capable of annoying ships in the river. The ends of this line are joined to the two bastions of the fort nearest the river by a garden wall and a gate in each, which would resist one shot of a six pounder, but which would be forced by the second. Opposite to the two bastions mentioned are two others inland to the Eastward, but within thirty yards to the North and forty yards to the South, the bastions are commanded by large houses. To the Eastward inland the top of the Church commands the whole of both the Northern and Eastern ramparts. Northward and Southward for the length of a mile and to the Eastward about a quarter of a mile, stand all the English houses, mostly separated from each other by large inclosures. Where the English habitations end to the Norward commence those of the principal black Merchants, which reach quite up to Perring's garden. To the southward down to Surman's garden the houses belonging to a lower class of the natives are less conspicuous. Twelve years ago a ditch had been dug, beginning at Perring's and carried inland of the town in a crescent with an intent to end at Surman's, but only four miles of it are finished. At Perring's there was a drawbridge over this ditch and notwithstanding the southern part of the town lay open. . . .

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Lines as well as the short time would admit had been flung up between all the streets of the white town, which led to the fort and Batteries were erected in the grand avenues to the Eastward, to the Norward and the Southward. These were attacked the 18th June in the morning and forced before sunset. . . . It was certain that the fort could make no longer any defence after the Church which commanded the Eastward face of it, Mr. Cruttenden's house, which commanded the Norward rampart and the Company's house, which commanded all to the southward . . . should fall into the enemy's hands.

287. Another Account of the Loss of Calcutta by Holwell.

Extracts from a Letter from J. Z. Holwell to the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, dated Fulta, November 30, 1756. *India Tracts, by J. Z. Holwell, Esq.*

9th. On the receipt of your letter by the *Delawar*, we began to put the settlement into as good a posture of defence as we could; and as the parapet and embrasures, as well as the gun carriages of the line to the westward of the fort, were much out of repair, they became the first object of our attention; a number of workmen were employed, and I believe the parapet and embrasures (the greatest part of which we were obliged to pull down) more than half run up, when the President was surprised with a perwanna from the Suba,[1] to the following purport:

'That he had been informed we were building a wall, and digging a large ditch round the town of Calcutta: That he did not approve of our carrying on these works without his permission: And ordered Mr. Drake to desist immediately, and destroy what he had already done.'

10th. The French having strengthened their fort by an additional bastion, which they had at this time compleated, received, at the same juncture we did, a perwana to the like effect; both

[1] i.e., a *parwāna* from the *ṣūbahdār*, an order from the Governor. Like all Englishmen of the time, Holwell everywhere writes *ṣūbah*, which properly means 'government' for *ṣūbahdār*.

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of them having been dispatched by the Subah, as he was on his march against the Purranea Nabob, and the answer to them reached the Suba on the same day at Rajamaal, a city about three days march from Muxadabad and the French, by the completion of their bastion, being enabled to desist immediately, answered him accordingly; assuring him at the same time, that they had built no new works, and had only repaired one of their bastions which had been injured by lightning: With which answer he appeared satisfied.

11th. The reply your President returned to the Suba's perwannah, was, to the best of my remembrance, as follows:

'That the Suba had been misinformed in respect to our building a wall round our town, and we had dug no ditch since the invasion of the Moratters [Marāṭhās], at which time we executed such a work at the particular request of our inhabitants, and with the knowledge and approbation of Ally Verdy Cawn ['Alīwirdī Khān]; that in the late war between our nation and the French, they had attacked and taken the town of Madrass, contrary to the neutrality we expected would have been preserved in the Mogul's dominions: and that there being at present great appearance of another war between the two crowns, we were under some apprehensions they would act in the same manner in Bengal; to prevent which we were only repairing our line of guns to the waterside.'

It is fruitless now to wish this answer had been debated in Council before it was sent, where I think much impropriety would have appeared in it, as the whole of it had a tendency to confirm the Suba in a belief of those insinuations, which had been already conveyed to him, that the war between us and the French would probably be brought into Bengal, besides its carrying a tacit reflection on the Suba's want of power or will to protect us. The consequence was adequate, for he was much enraged at the receipt of it, and immediately ordered your factory at Cossimbuzar to be invested, which was accordingly done on the 23rd of May, by Roy Dullub [Rāī Durlabh], of which we received advice from that gentleman there the 25th, and several other subsequent letters informing us of additional forces being added on the factory from time to time, and that they expected every moment

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to be attacked, and that the Suba was on his march to Muxadabad.[1] The subject matter of complaint, assigned in every letter, still regarded the new works we were carrying on in Calcutta. . . .

33d. To the first article of my first general head, it will not become me to add much more than I set forth in my letter before you of the 17th July, addressed from Muxadabad to your other two Presidencies of Bombay and Fort St. George. The nature and extent of that power given to the Committee of Fortifications, Messrs. Drake, Watts, Scot and Manningham, we have ever been kept strangers to; but I will venture to conclude, that had the money which was expended on the redoubt, drawbridge, etc. erected at Baagbuzar, and that which was meditated to be spent on the circuit of the ditch beyond our bounds, as also that which was disbursed on the batteries, etc. raised on the Suba's approach, been timely appropriated to the demolition of the houses round us, to have given a proper esplanade to the northward, eastward and southward of your fort, the sinking a ditch round it well palisaded, it had been employed to a more important use and purpose, and have been a sufficient discouragement to the government to have prevented any project or hopes of attacking it, with any probability of success. I am sensible it will be urged, the government would have never suffered these measures; a reasoning ex post facto will not invalidate my conclusion; for had it been thought of, or carried into execution, at the commencement of the old Suba's sickness, when everything at the Durbar was in confusion, and both parties there employed on their own schemes and designs, the work might have been effected without let or hindrance, a Perwannah might possibly have reached us, to prohibit our proceedings, but no troops could have been sent against us, whilst the attentions of the clashing interests at the Suba's court were taken up in securing each their own safety on his demise. What might have been done during that favourable interval is sufficiently evident, from the almost inconceivable useless works which we accomplished during the space of a few days only; and the same plea which your President urged in his letter to the Suba, subsisted equally at the beginning of the old Suba's sickness, when we had reason enough to be alarmed by the approach

[1] Maqṣūdābād, afterwards Murshidābād.

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of a war with France. The ruinous state of the line to the westward of the fort, had been a reproach to our settlement, and to everything bearing the name of fortifications for more than two years, and was in just and strong (I will not say in very decent) terms represented in a letter to the Board, by Mr. Jasper Leigh Jones the Captain of your train, I think in April or May 1755, but no steps were taken to repair it until we had reason hourly to expect the enemy at our doors, The whole easterly curtain had been for many years in so ruinous a condition as not to bear a gun; one we fired from it, a three or four pounder, as I remember, which made its way through the terrace; through this curtain from the principal gate to the north-east bastion, were struck out five or six large windows, so many breaches made for the enemy, in a quarter too where we were most liable to be attacked; and to sum up the whole, the new Godowns to the southward, had rendered your two southerly bastions useless to each other, and to the whole southerly face of the fort, which could not be flanked by a single gun from either bastion:—From a consideration of these circumstances, joined to the incumbrance of the church and houses round us, and the other wants and disadvantages mentioned in my letter of the 17th July, it is self-evident, the place could not have held out an hour against an European army. . . .

35th. Your five commanding officers were Commandant Minchin, Captains Clayton, Buchanan, Witherington, and Grant; each of these gentlemen (Captain Clayton excepted) had seen service, either in Europe or on the Cormandel coast: Touching the military capacity of our Commandant, I am a stranger. I can only say, that we were unhappy in his keeping it to himself, if he had any; as neither I, nor I believe any body else, was witness to any part of his conduct, that spoke or bore the appearance of his being the commanding military officer in the garrison. Whether this proceeded from himself, or his not being properly supported in his rank, I cannot say; but such, I have heard, has been his allegation and plea for his supine remissness, at a juncture which required the exertion of every quality he could have been master of. Your President, I remember, spoke to me more than once with much uneasiness, at the beginning of our troubles, on the indolence of the Commandant, and seemed to

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think of breaking him; had this measure been carried into execution, it had been better for the service, and, I think, for that gentleman too; the disgrace would have been less, I believe, in the opinion of all mankind, than that which falls on him by his quitting the fort and garrison in the manner he did, whilst he bore the character of commanding officer in it; but the mischief was, we could not have stopped here: the next gentleman in command to him had never seen any service, and I am sorry to say, demonstrated his want of the most essential requisites of a soldier. Had both these gentlemen been set aside, and the next in command preferred to the commandantship, it would have promised a happier issue for them and us; and most assuredly, this was not a time to have regarded forms or ceremony. Remissness, or a deficiency of military knowledge in commanders, when coming to action, are equally fatal in their consequences, and are ever the parents of neglects, confusion and disorders, and troops, I believe, are hardly ever known to do their duty, unless where they have an opinion of, as well as love for their commanders. That neither was the case, with regard to the two gentlemen above-mentioned, I believe the whole settlement can witness with me; and they were in no higher degree of esteem with their subalterns than with their soldiers. The preferring Captain Buchanan, who was next in command to them, would have obviated all the disadvantages we laboured under in this particular; a gentleman whose character as a man, and a soldier, deserved a better fate than the unhappy one which befel him, by the errors and misconduct of others: the vacant companies would have been filled up with those, we had good reason to think (and who indeed proved themselves) brave officers.—The next in command to Captain Buchanan, in the battalion, would then have been Captain Grant; a gentleman who had, during his stay in the garrison, remarkably exerted himself in every duty which could have been expected from him, and demonstrated no want of either spirit or military skill, but much the contrary. The Captain of your train was a laborious, active officer, but confused; and would, I believe, have few objections to his character, diligence or conduct, had he been fortunate in having any commander in chief to have had a proper eye over him, and to take care that he did his

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duty. Here he had a fatal instance of a remissness in command; for that we had neither a sufficiency of ammunition, &c. nor that good, was doubtless as much the fault of those above him, (whose duty it was to have inspected his conduct) as his; but as this poor gentleman fell a sacrifice, as well to his own, as to the errors of others, they should be touched as lightly as possible.

36th. Thus, Honourable Sirs, I have given you as faithful a picture of the commanders of your five companies as I can draw, or as I believe can be drawn by any body else: three of them, my wretched companions in the Black-hole, perished there, as did also all your brave subalterns (Ensigns Walcot and Carstairs excepted) where I will leave them, and proceed to consider your troops in garrison; consisting, as already mentioned in my letter of the 17th July, by the muster-rolls laid before us, about the 6th or 8th of June, of 145 in battalion, and 45 of the train, officers included, and in both, only 60 Europeans. We were taught to believe, there were at all your subordinates, at least 200 men, the best of our garrison, viz. at Cossimbuzar 100, at Dacca about 40, at Luckypore 30, and at Ballasore about the same number; but it is certain the numbers there barely exceeded one hundred: Whether two hundred ought to have been there, I am not master enough of the subject to declare; so am obliged here to refer to your President, for your further satisfaction; who (or in his absence your second) had always the inspection of the rolls, and mustering the men. Of these handful of troops in garrison, there were not five that had ever, I believe, seen a musket fired in anger. Had the militia of the place been (agreeably to your orders per *Godolphin*, anno 1751) regularly trained to arms, they might at this juncture have been a most seasonable supply: but this essential regulation, I am sorry to say, was totally neglected, so that when we came to action, there were hardly any amongst the Armenians and Portuguese inhabitants, and but few amongst the European militia, who knew the right from the wrong end of their pieces. From the militia, about 65, chiefly Europeans, entered volunteers in the battalion, (most of them your own covenanted servants) in whose just praise, I can hardly say enough. They sustained every hardship of duty, greatly beyond the military themselves; their address in the use of their arms

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was astonishing, the short time there was to train them considered; and though their bravery may have been equalled, I am sure it has not been exceeded, by any set of men whatsoever. A considerable body of these, were on the Saturday morning relieved from duty, and were gone on board the ships to deposit their papers, or on other occasions relative to their private affairs; as were likewise on the like call, many of the militia, with four of their officers, to wit, the reverend Mr. Mapletoft Captain-lieutenant, Captain Henry Wedderburn, Lieutenant of the first company, and Ensigns Sumner, and Charles Douglas, all of them gentlemen who had failed in no part of duty, either as officers or soldiers, in the defence of the place; so that there is no reason to doubt the veracity of their own assertions, in which they are joined by the volunteers: 'That they had no intention, but to return to the defence of the place, until they saw your President, Commandant Minchin, Captain Grant and Mr. Macket, quit it (Messrs. Manningham and Frankland having quitted it before) and a general retreat rumoured:' and indeed, immediately after, all means of returning were cut off from them, by the falling down of every ship, vessel, and boat. Thus, Honourable Sirs, you see our garrison, small as it was, reduced and weakened, both in its strength, officers and councils, in a very important degree, to the disheartening those who stayed, and encouragement of the enemy; and when it is considered, those remaining, including officers, volunteers, soldiers and militia, did not exceed one hundred and seventy men; and that of those there were twenty-five killed, and about seventy wounded, before noon the 20th, and the whole exhausted of their strength, by continual duty and action, and our people of the train reduced to fourteen only; it would not, I hope, have been wondered at, had we surrendered your fort without parley or capitulation, though it is certain we should not have surrendered ourselves, had not our own people forced the western gate during the parley; for having no dependance on the clemency of the enemy we had to deal with, we had meditated, in case the *St. George* with her boats failed us, the forcing a retreat that night, through the southerly barrier by the river-side, and to have marched until we came under cover of the ships, then lying before Surman's gardens; imagining the enemy would be too much

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employed on the plunder of the fort, to have molested us greatly in our retreat.

37. On the second general head I shall have little to say. That we had not powder sufficient, and that we had, not good, that we had hardly any shells fitted, or fuzees fitted to them; that there was hardly a carriage that would bear a gun; that the fifty fine cannon you sent out three years ago, 18 and 24 pounders, lay neglected under your walls; and that we were deficient in almost every kind of military stores, are all truths, will not admit of any dispute; but who is properly accountable for these defects, or under whose immediate care or inspection they were, or ought to have been, must, Honourable Sirs, be determined by yourselves.

39. Our first capital error was, the neglecting taking possession of Tanner's Fort, on our provisions being prohibited the settlement, and when there was no force or troops there to have opposed us; this measure in our first council of war, I moved and urged, with every argument in my power, should be done with 25 or 30 men, and a party of Buxerries, and that a battery of six guns should be immediately erected there towards the northward or land-side. In this motion I was strongly seconded by Mons. la Beaume, and I think Captain Grant only, and consequently it was over-ruled. The utility I thought evident; it would have secured provisions from the other side of the river, or the Suba must have divided his force; it would have secured the retreat of the shipping; it might have been a retreat to ourselves, or if at last drove from it, we had it still in our power to destroy it, in such a manner as to have rendered it useless, and prevent its proving a troublesome thorn in our sides, which it may possibly yet be, if ever we advance again to retake your settlement, as our ships must pass within almost pistol-shot of it. The Gentlemen saw the utility of this measure too late; our ships were sent down to attempt the possession of it; a great deal of ammunition was fruitlessly thrown away against it; our ships received much damage, and were obliged to make an inglorious retreat, to the no small encouragement of the enemy and our disgrace: and to sum up all the misfortunes attending this error, our ships in their flight, with that part of the colony who left the fort, were, from

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the fire they were obliged to sustain from this fort, and the little order observed amongst themselves, thrown into such confusion that several ran a-shore, and some, the richest in the fleet, fell into the enemy's hands, and were plundered.

40. Our second capital error, with our small and untrained garrison, was, I conceive, raising the three advanced posts and batteries to the northward, eastward, and southward and the gaol, which answered no purpose, but exhausting, harrassing, and destroying the few people we had. If we, in place of this measure, had kept our forces more united, withdrawn Picard and his party from Baagbazar, and taken possession with our musquetry of the church, the Company's, Messrs. Cruttenden's, Eyres's, and Omychund's houses, the enemy could not have approached us without infinite loss, and with hardly any probability of success. From these posts, close under the cover of our guns, our troops could hardly have been attacked, much less been dislodged, as we had sufficient proofs afterwards when the out-posts were withdrawn; or if there had appeared a necessity of abandoning them, their retreat to the fort was secure; considerably less than half the troops stationed at the out-posts would have been sufficient for this service, and this important consequence had followed, a regular relief for duty, of which we had none, as things were unhappily conducted, nor would that infinite confusion and disorder in the fort have ensued, which did on withdrawing these batteries; the fort had been in a manner left defenceless for the support of them, and little benefitted by the return of troops, fatigued and hardly able to stand. . . . You have, Honourable Sirs, an exact plan of your settlement, and of every house in it, on inspection of which, you will, at one view, see the inutility of these three principal out-posts. That to the northward was erected to defend the pass between the corner of Mr. Griffith's house and the river-side, a precaution totally useless, as you will find Mr. Griffith's house, your salt-petre Godowns, and the whole street were commanded by the guns on the north-east bastion, within less than musket-shot of your fort. That to the eastward, at the Court-house, you will find commanded by the battery over the eastern gate, and from the old and new south-east bastions within musket-shot. That to the southward was not indeed com-

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manded by any gun from the fort, but field-pieces advanced a few paces without your eastern gate, would not only have commanded that, but the other two principal avenues to the fort, if the battery on the gate, and the north-east bastion had not been deemed a sufficient defence against the approach of the enemy; and had they advanced by the ditch to the southward of the burying-ground, and up the avenue between that and my house,[1] or penetrated through the burying-ground, we still had nothing to apprehend from them, as the whole square between the southerly face of the fort and the hospital, and gate of the burying-ground, was commanded not only by the new south-east bastion,[2] but by seven four pounders on the new Godowns, and our small arms from thence and the Company's house. Had the disposition I have mentioned been made, and the walls of the Loll Baag[3] and those opposite the Company's house been levelled, it is more than probable the Suba at last would have been obliged to retreat with his army; for it is plain he had none with him capable of erecting any battery that could have hurt us, (that which did us most damage being our own 18 pounders turned against us from the Court-house) and with their small arms, there was hardly a possibility of approaching near enough to have affected us. . . . My conclusions, Honourable Sirs, are on this head, the result of reason, and a late fatal experience, and not of art, for I am no soldier; but I cannot help thinking such would have been the salutary disposition, had we been happy enough to have had a soldier at the head, or a chief commanding officer in any degree skilled in the art of defence; but, in place of it, lines were formed, which required ten times the number of men to defend; lucky we were in having an enemy who had as little skill and address in the attack, as we in the defence, and much less resolution, or on the night of the 16th or 17th, they might have entered at four different posts, and cut off the retreat to the fort of each of the five advanced batteries (including Baagbazar and the gaol, for not a

[1] The more southern of the two houses marked 'Mr. Holwell' in the plan of 1753. The more northern was rented, it seems, by Mr. Amyatt (see Simson's letter in extract 274).

[2] I suppose this is the new large bastion, 'on the spot [where] Mr. Amyatt's house stands close to the dock.'

[3] The *lāl bāg*, the great garden or park, now Dalhousie Square.

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gun could have been fired to cover their retreat, but must have been equally levelled at our own troops as at the enemy. In the avenue between Messrs. Coale's and Omychund's houses[1] we sunk a ditch and threw up a bank within, which post, for want of people, was trusted to the guard of four pykes only. The importance of this post will appear in a moment, (from the plan of your settlement before you) through which the enemy might have thrown ten thousand men into the very center of our lines, before, or as soon as we could have known any thing of the matter. In the avenue north of the Court-house Tank or pond was another ditch sunk,[2] which, from the same cause, was little better defended than the former. From the south-east angle of the park, to the corner of Mr. Lascell's house, was a third,[3] defended by a corporal and six men. The fourth was at the entrance into the square of the Lesser Tank,[4] Mr. Putnam's house, and defended by a detachment from the south advanced battery; at neither of these four intermediate posts were planted a single cannon, and they might have been forced in the night, without the loss of ten men to the enemy, and the neglect of it cost them some thousands. I am the more particular on this subject, in proof of the error I have here censured, because, from the plan before you, you will be convinced, that the forcing any one of them in the night, would have intercepted the retreat to the fort of the troops stationed at all the advanced batteries, and caused the immediate surrender of the fort; and points out, not only the danger and inutility of these batteries, but the impropriety of forming an extent of line we had not men to defend. And to compleat our blunders in engineering, a trench was sunk through your park, from North to South, within little more than half musket-shot of your bastions, the earth of which proved (after the advanced batteries were withdrawn) a secure breast-work to the enemy, and from whence they did us the greatest injury with their small arms. We were, it is

[1] The plan of Calcutta by Wells in 1753 shows these two houses. Orme's plan of Calcutta in 1756 shows the barrier between them, and the entrance of what is now New China Bazar from Lyon's Range.

[2] Orme's plan shows this at the top of Lyon's Range, at the entrance of what is now Old Court House Lane.

[3] Orme's plan shows this barrier at the entrance of Mangoe Lane.

[4] Orme's plan shows this at the entrance of British India Street.

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plain, engineers in theory only, with the additional misfortune, that those in superior command either had no judgment in the direction, or did not chuse to show it, whilst others who had probably better, could not with propriety interfere; to which I may add, we had neither time for projection or execution; a still further proof we should have remained satisfied in occupying the houses round us, and trusted to our fort only.

41. A third error, and which I esteem a capital one, was the neglecting to attack the rear of that body of troops which supported the enemy's 12 pounder, in the attack of the gaol the 18th. This body consisted of 5,000 chosen men and officers. The troops that defended this post sustained the enemy's attack for some time in the open road, before the gaol, with two field-pieces and their small arms; but being entirely open to the enemy, and having some killed and several wounded, they were obliged at last to retreat under cover into the gaol with their field-pieces, having before prepared two embrazures for them in the wall, which commanded the avenue through which the enemy was advancing, and the post was obstinately and gallantly defended for a great while, under the command of Mons. la Beaume and Ensign Carstairs. During the attack of this post, and just after the troops retreated into the gaol, we projected at the center advanced battery, the attacking the enemy in the rear, with 25 or 30 men and two field-pieces, to be marched from the North battery, whilst we advanced two more from our post, with all our infantry and militia, and joined the troops at the gaol to make one general sally and attack on them in front, whilst the detachment from the northward fell on the rear by order of Captain Clayton, who commanded at the center advanced battery. I wrote strenuously to the President, to let him know our intentions, and requested he would instantly order the detachment, with a couple of field-pieces, to advance into the middle road on the enemy's rear, to which we received answer, 'That it was impossible, there were not men to send.' The error I censure on this incident, is the not sufficiently considering the importance of it, and the troops that might have been without danger or inconvenience detached on this service, had the North advanced battery been divested entirely of the musketry stationed there, and with the volunteers sent out, the post would

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have run no risque, whilst there remained only a single officer, and people o the train sufficient to attend the battery; or on the march of the detachment, (if it had been judged necessary) that battery might have been reinforced with a detachment of the militia from the fort, as ours at the center battery had been the 17th at night, under Ensign Charles Douglas, when Captain Clayton was ordered on a piquet of 50 men, to secure the retreat of Lieutenant Blagg, and the troops from Baagbazar; or some people might have been draughted off from the south advanced battery, which had not once been (nor was likely to be) attacked; the misfortune of this neglect will best appear from the almost certain consequences which would have attended the carrying it into execution. There was no impediment that could have obstructed the detachment's arriving directly close on the back of the enemy, who would have been between two fires, without hardly a possibility of a tithe of the whole body escaping a repulse and slaughter, which, I am convinced, would have struck such a panick into the enemy, as, in all human probability, had obliged the Suba to have retreated, and dropt his designs against us.—Touching this error, I am far from blaming the President; I only regret his misfortune of having no commanding military officer near him, who could have seen at first sight, and convinced him of the important use this sally would have been to the service.

42. The abandoning the center advanced battery, at the Court-house, has by some been asserted as the cause of the loss of the fort, and consequently comes under the head of our errors, and requires consideration in the fourth place, the more so as I am convinced much stress will be laid on this cause, by those who are totally strangers to the situation of things at that battery, or the reasons which made it needful to abandon it. This post was commanded by Captain Clayton as eldest Captain (next to the Commandant) myself as Captain of the first company of militia, was stationed under him. At this battery, with a detachment of the militia, we had on the whole, including officers, battalion volunteers, militia, and train, about 90 men and 15 Buxerries, two six pounders mounted on the battery, two field-pieces, and two 18 pounders. From the most superficial view of this post, it was evident, to any capacity, that the enemy would never venture to

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make an open attack against it, our musketry for this reason, became useless at the battery, the manifest and only service that could be made of them, was stationing them in the houses round us which commanded the battery, and the lesser avenues leading to it; but this very important step not seeming to be attended to by Captain Clayton, myself, and Captain Henry Wedderburn my Lieutenant, took the liberty to represent to him, the utility and absolute necessity of this measure. Piqued, I fear, that a thing so obvious did not occur to himself, he replied, there were not men enough; he would not weaken his post; though this most certainly was the only means of strengthening it. As often as we urged it, he persisted in his error; the consequence was natural; the enemy benefited by our neglect, took possession of every house round us, and of the play-house also, after the gaol was abandoned in the afternoon, and from thence by half past four in the afternoon, were breaking out several loop-holes bearing on our battery. About this time the enemy had forced the pass by Mr. Putham's house,[1] and had got in multitudes within our lines; they had obliged the detachment from Captain Buchanan's post, under Lieutenant Blagg, to retreat to the South battery.[2] They had also obliged the guard by Mr. Lassell's house[3] (which we from our post had reinforced with two Sergeants and 20 men) to retire, and were seemingly advancing to attack our post in flank, through the Loll Baag,[4] and intercept our retreat, but having brought one of the 18 pounders to bear upon them, and sweep the whole easterly side of the lesser great Tank, we stopped their career with much slaughter; the fort at the same time keeping a warm firing upon them from the bastions. Thus circumstanced, Captain Clayton ordered me (I think about five in the afternoon) to go down to the fort, and represent the state of the battery, and receive orders, whether the post should be withdrawn or maintained. The orders were to withdraw it immediately, and spike up the cannon we could not bring off. I returned with these orders, and, to my astonishment, found the two 18 pounders, and one of the six

[1] At the end of British India Street.

[2] In Council House Street, at the south-east corner of St. John's Churchyard.

[3] At he end of Mangoe Lane.

[4] Dalhousie Square.

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pounders on the battery spiked up, and the post in such confusion as bars all description. There was nothing could have prevented our bringing off the cannon, and making the most regular and soldier-like retreat, had we been commanded by an officer of resolution and judgment; but as it was, our retreat had more the appearance of a confused rout, bringing off only one field-piece, and the cannon spiked with so little art, that they were easily drilled and turned against us. The orders for withdrawing this post circumstanced as it then was, carried the utmost propriety with it (the enemy having then made lodgments in the theatre and houses close round us) for though with our cannon and cohorn shells advanced without the battery, we dislodged the enemy from two of the houses, to wit, Mr. Bourchier's, and that formerly belonging to Mr. Twiss; yet, in an hour more, not a man could have appeared on the battery, or stirred in or out of the Court-house, without being a dead-mark to the enemy; to say nothing to our people's having been needlessly fatigued and harrassed, to such a degree, that I believe, in two hours more not a man of us would have had strength enough to have walked to the fort. On the orders being issued for abandoning our post, precipitate orders were sent to Captain Buchanan, and Captain-Lieutenant Smith, immediately to withdraw from the other two advanced batteries, and spike up their cannon. The reason pleaded and urged in defence of this hasty step, was the absolute necessity of doing it as soon as the center battery was withdrawn. To this I am obliged to object, as a reason very insufficient: if any reasons at all subsisted, for their being erected and maintained prior to the withdrawing the center battery, they subsisted as much, if not more, afterwards; at least, there was no cause in nature for the order for spiking up the cannon. The South advanced battery had never been attacked, the northerly had, in the morning, and repulsed the enemy, the only circumstance to be apprehended was the retreat of the troops being cut off, which was easily guarded against, as we knew the enemy was within our lines. A reserve battery had been thrown up across the principal south avenue, just opposite to the Company's house, and close under the cover of the guns from the two southerly bastions, with intention that Captain Buchanan's command should retire to it with its cannon, in case

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he was obliged to retire from the advanced battery at the bridge; but this was never thought of. At this reserve battery they could not be attacked, without infinite loss to the enemy; nor flanked from the entrenchment cut through the park or Loll Baag, which, in its whole length, was scoured by our small arms from the church; that and Mr. Eyre's house being taken possession of on abandoning the center battery, which likewise secured the retreat of Captain-Lieutenant Smith's command; so that there could be no reason of quitting either of these posts in the precipitate manner they did, which was the cause of infinite confusion amongst ourselves, and of no small encouragement to the enemy, and proves a support to the censure I think I have justly passed on our second capital error, that it had been a happy incident if these out-posts had never been thought of. I must not quit this subject, without doing particular justice to Lieutenant Blagg and ten of our volunteers (eight of them your covenanted servants), viz., Messrs. Law, Ellis, Took, N. Drake, Charles Smith, Wilkinson, Dodd, Knapton, William Parker and Macpherson; these Gentlemen were detached from Captain Buchanan's post, to sustain a Serjeant and 16 men posted in Mr. Goddard's house, to defend the post at Mr. Putham's, and threw themselves into Captain Minchin's house, from the top of which they made a great slaughter of the enemy; and when that post was forced, the Serjeant and his men made a precipitate retreat to the battery, without once thinking of the Gentlemen posted at Captain Minchin's, where these had a long and bloody conflict with a number of the enemy, most unequal, and at last forced a retreat, glorious to themselves, but with the loss of two of their small detachment, viz., Messrs. Smith and Wilkinson, who by mistake were separated from the body; the first refused quarter, and killed five of the enemy before he fell, the other called for quarter, but was denied it, and cut to pieces.

43. I have now brought you, Honourable Sirs, to the fifth and last act of our tragedy of errors, which brought on as fatal and melancholy a catastrophe, I believe, as ever the annals of any people, or colony of people, suffered since the days of Adam; to wit, the Governor, Messrs. Manningham, Frankland, Mackett, the principal officers, and a considerable part of the colony, abandoning your fort, effects and garrison, with the ships and vessels,

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whereby the retreat of those who remained was to all intents and purposes cut off, to the number of about 170 persons, and left a sacrifice to an exasperated and merciless enemy; amongst those four of your council, a great number of your principal and valuable covenanted servants, three military Captains, several Commanders of ships, eight or nine commissioned officers, many of the principal inhabitants, and others. Our proceedings in this distressful situation, I have in few words summed up in my letter of the 17th July from the capital of the province, which I beg leave to repeat here, lest that letter by any accident should not have reached you. 'Mr. Pearke's waving his right of seniority, he, and the gentlemen in council, with the unanimous approval of the gentlemen in the service, the garrison and inhabitants, elected me their Governor and Administrator of your affairs during the troubles, and suspended your President, and Messrs. Manningham, Frankland and Mackett, from your service, for their breach of trust; as also the military officers who accompanied them.' In my letter above referred to, I indiscriminately blamed the whole who had left us, in which I may well be excused, for I had it not then in my power to make the just distinctions and exceptions I have here already done; for, in truth, it can be incumbent only on your Governor, and Commander in Chief, and the Gentlemen of Council, and the officers who accompanied him in this defection, to vindicate, if possible, this piece of conduct; nor can it be wondered at, that those neither in trust nor command, should quit a cause, where those who bore the highest distinctions in both, deserted it; That the fort was not tenable, is a truth cannot be contradicted, any more than that a general retreat, with all its effects public and private, might, with ease, have been effected, had those on whom it rested done their duty. When I mention a general retreat, I would be understood to mean no more than the European inhabitants, the garrison and their families; as for the multitudes of others that were (by an infatuation not to be accounted for) admitted into the fort, to the number of 6,000 at least, they must have been abandoned; they would have suffered nothing by being left behind, and would have caused much embarrassment and distress to the whole by being embarked. As I have before done justice to the officers of militia and others, who were embarked

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without (I am convinced) having any intention of abandoning the fort, I must in this place likewise render justice, to the best of my knowledge and information, to the character of one of your Board, Mr. William Mackett: This gentleman had the command of the second company of militia, and went to see his lady (and children) on board the *Dodaly* the 18th at night, where he left her dangerously ill; and returned to the fort, though the strongest persuasions, I am well informed, were used to detain him on board. Could any consideration or plea have been prevalent enough to shake that of honour, the situation of this gentleman's family, joined to those persuasions, would have determined his stay; but he returned to the duty his honour called him to, and with the consent and approbation of Mrs. Mackett. Early on the morning of the 19th, the President, Mr. Mackett, the Reverend Mr. Mapletoft, myself and others, were employed in cutting open the bales of cotton, and filling it in bags, to carry upon the parapets; then (I recollect) Mr. Mackett intimated to me the unhappy condition he left his lady in the preceding night, and expressed his desire and intention to step on board for five minutes to see her: That this was the sole motive of his going, without any design of abandoning the fort, I am convinced of; and is, I think, proved by the whole of his behaviour during the siege, and his return to the fort from the *Dodaly* the preceding night. With equal pleasure I would embrace any, even probable, appearance to justify the conduct of your other servants in higher trust; against whom, I with more real concern say, the charge lies too heavy and obvious to admit of extenuation. The proof, and supporting this charge, I could wish a task imposed on any body else; but unluckily, none but myself is equal to it, as none can be so well acquainted with the circumstances attending it; and however galling the remembrance of my own chains, sufferings and losses may be, they shall not influence me to deviate from truth, though such remembrance may urge me to terms of seeming bitterness, hardly unavoidable, when those sufferings can be attributed to nought but the unaccountable conduct I am now impeaching—a conduct which (however palliated by a thousand frivolous reasons) will justly lay your President and Messrs. Manningham and Frankland open to the censure of breach of

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trust, of the highest imprudence and inconsistence, and prove them strangers to the very dictates of humanity. . . .

45. The *Dodaly* (with Messrs. Manningham and Frankland) and some other vessels, fell down the river the 18th at night. Your President, with the rest of the ships, vessels and boats, followed them the 19th, about nine in the forenoon: they lay in sight of our fort, and flag flying, until the 20th. About 11 in the forenoon, we saw the *St. George*, our last resource, was a-ground, and could not come down to our succour, and heard us engaged with the enemy during all this period.—They knew the desperate state they had left and abandoned us in, without all possibility or means to escape or retreat; and this their own doing: They were sensible, we had not ammunition to defend the fort two days, or, if we had, that our strength, with continued fatigue, watching, and action, was exhausted, and that we were reduced to the wretched alternative of either sacrificing our lives, by resolving to die sword in hand, or surrender ourselves to an enraged and merciless enemy; and yet neither ships, vessel, or boat, were sent to favour our retreat, enquire what was our fate, or whether we existed, or had perished. To palliate this, (I believe, unequalled inhumanity) the danger of returning with the ships has been, I hear, alledged.—Capt. Grant, in his letter to us, in vindication of himself, the 20th August, asserts, he more than once urged your President to move up with all the ships and sloops before the fort, once in the presence of Capt. Young, Commander of the *Dodaly*, who represented it as a dangerous attempt. I submit it to you, Honourable Sirs, to determine, whether your President ought to have remained satisfied with an answer of this kind, or whether the ships would have run greater risk in moving up to the fort, than they did in moving down from it; or if there actually had been danger in the attempt, of which there was not even the shadow, whilst we remained in possession of the fort, was the preservation of so many brave and valuable men as were cooped up in it, with your treasure, effects, books, &c. of such small estimation with gentlemen, as not to merit one attempt to retrieve them, though even this attempt had been attended with danger? But it has been urged, that they were at no certainty whether we were in possession of the fort, or not; and by some conjectured, that we

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had surrendered, or the place had been taken by assault, and that the flag was only kept flying by the enemy to decoy the fleet back. —But if these were the doubts that actuated them, why did they not satisfy themselves? A single sloop or boat sent up the night of the 19th, might have hailed us from the bastions, without risk, even if the place had been in possession of the enemy, the contrary of which they would have been ascertained of, and the fleet might have moved up that night. This motion would have put fresh spirits into us, and given dismay to the enemy, already not a little disheartened by the numbers slain in the day when dislodged from the houses round us, and otherwise, particularly by our shells and cannon at Lady Russell's[1] and the Court-house. Had the ships moved up, and our forces reunited, and part of the ammunition on board them been disembarked for the service of the fort, the Suba might at last have been obliged to retreat with his army, or at worst the effects might have been shipped off the 20th, even in the face of the enemy, without their having power to obstruct it, and a general retreat made of the whole garrison, as glorious to ourselves, all circumstances considered, as a victory would have been; the Gentlemen would then have found a plan ready formed, to the minutest circumstance, for a general retreat, that would have been attended with no disorder, confusion, or difficulty, if proper resolution and command had appeared: Had your President, as was incumbent on him, hoisted his flag on board the *Dodaly*, of which he was likewise part owner, and moved up even the 20th, not a man or vessel but would have followed him, and he would then have been early enough to have given a new face to things; but, in place of that, he rendered himself totally inexcusable, by not only quitting us himself, but in telling others, and amongst them some of the Officers of the Militia then on board the *Dodaly*, That the retreat was general; thereby cooling the resolutions and endeavours of those who were returning to us, and had never once entertained a thought of quitting the fort.

[1] Ann, Lady Russell, was the widow of Sir Francis Russell, Baronet, a great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell, who died at Calcutta on February 26, 1743, being then Chief of the Factory at Qasimbāzār. On November 30, 1744, Lady Russell married Thomas Holmes. She died at Fulta, her will being dated August 24, 1756. Her house was in the Rope Walk, the modern Mission Row, and is shown in the plan by Wells in 1753.

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The want of boats has been another cause alledged for a general retreat not being practicable. Were there any grounds for this assertion, where did the fault lie? Though there might have been few boats at the Crane Gat,[1] when the President went off, yet it is a known truth, that the wharfs to the right and left were lined with them, and that not one of them stirred from the shore, until immediately after he put off, when they all rowed across the river, most of them with grain on board; and this desertion occasioned by neglect of the obvious measure of having a sufficient guard over them. But to obviate every excuse that can possibly be urged against the facility with which we could have made the retreat general, I will suppose there had not a country-boat existed, those belonging to the ships, and the small craft, brought close to shore, would have been amply sufficient to have embarked the effects, garrison, and their families, which we had not at all despaired of effecting, even with the *Saint George's* three or four boats, (had she happily come down to our succour) and the assistance of Captain Witherington's pinnace, then lying at the Crane. But, in short, Honourable Sirs, it is not to be wondered at, that, in a panick such as evidently possessed those in the chief command and direction, means the most obvious should either not occur, or be neglected; nor that handles, the most weak and improbable, should be laid hold of, to extenuate the conduct resulting from it: As such I think myself justified, in treating every reason advanced in vindication of these gentlemen quitting the fort in the manner they did, and not returning, when it was so demonstrably in their power, and thereby losing the means of saving your treasure, books, and effects; of preserving the lives of the many gallant worthy men, who perished in their defence, and thus fell a sacrifice; of preventing the tears of the fatherless children and widows, left destitute and unhappy, as well as those of the many parents and relations, deprived thus of the ornaments of their families, in the miserable deaths of a number of the most promising youths you ever had in your service; and lastly, of saving myself, and others, your faithful servants, from chains, shame, and imprisonment, with other distresses and sufferings hardly to be described. . . .

[1] The landing stairs opposite the principal river gate of the fort.

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48. Having been pressed at different times on the 20th, by the gentlemen of council and others, to throw out a flag of truce, I opposed it as much as possible, foreseeing the little utility would arise from it, considering the enemy we had to deal with, and that they were as perfectly acquainted with our distressed situation, as we ourselves; however, to quiet the minds of every body as much as in my power, I caused a letter to be wrote the 20th, early in the morning, by Omychund, who was left a prisoner in the fort, to Raja Monick Chund, to the following purport. 'That, as he and his house had always been a friend and a tenant to the English, we hoped to experience it on this occasion, and that he would use his influence with the Suba, to order his troops to cease hostilities; that we were ready to obey his commands, and persisted only in defending the fort, in preservation of our lives and honours.' At this period I was at no certainty of the Suba's being at the siege in person, and all the hopes I had from this letter, or a flag of truce, was to amuse them until the St. George came down, and that we might have the night to make our general retreat in. About noon, as I before observed, the enemy were repulsed from the attacks they made this day to the northward, and a cessation on both sides ensued for more than two hours, and not one of the enemy to be seen; the gentlemen of council, officers and inhabitants, still pressing me, I was prevailed on to consent to a flag of truce being thrown out before dark. About four in the afternoon, word was brought me that one of the enemy was advancing with a flag in his hand, and called to cease firing, and that we should have quarter if we surrendered; this was judged a favourable juncture to answer it with a flag of truce; accordingly I repaired with the flag on the original S.E. Bastion,[1] where Captain Buchanan was then posted, and ordered firing to cease. I had a letter prepared with me, addressed to Roy Doolub, general of his forces, importing an overture to cease hostilities, till the Suba could be wrote to, and his pleasure known. This letter I threw over the ramparts, and hoisted the flag of truce on the bastion; the letter was taken up by the person who advanced with the flag, who retired with it: soon after, multitudes of the enemy came out

[1] The original south-east bastion as distinguished from the new south-east bastion, which, it appears, was erected at Mr. Amyatt's house by the dock.

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of their hiding places round us, and flocked under the walls; a short parly ensued, I demanded a truce to hostilities, until the Suba's pleasure could be known; to which I was answered by one of his officers from below, that the Suba was there, and his pleasure was that we should immediately strike our colours and surrender the fort, and ourselves, and that we should have quarter. I was going to reply, when at that instant Mr. William Bailie, standing near me, was slightly wounded by a musket ball from the enemy, on the side of his head, and word was brought me that they were attempting to force the S.W. barrier, and were cutting at the eastern gate. On being ascertained of this, I ordered Captain Buchanan to point a cannon from the Bastion, which flanked the eastern curtain, and told them to withdraw from the walls, or I would instantly fire amongst them; they withdrew, and I immediately took down the flag of truce, and stept to the parade to issue orders for a general discharge of our cannon and small arms. The moment I arrived there, Captain Dickson, (who now commands the *Lively Grabb*, at present in your service) and just after him Ensign Walcot came running to me, and told me the western gate[1] was forced by our own people and betrayed. I instantly sent Ensign Walcot with orders to see if there was no possibility of securing it again; he returned and told me it was impossible, for the locks and bolts were forced off. On this I returned to Captain Buchanan's post, and found some of the enemies colours planted on the bastion. I asked him how he came to suffer it; he replied he found farther resistance was in vain, for that the moment I had left him, advice was brought him of the western gate being betrayed, and turning myself I saw below multitudes of the enemy, who had entered that way, and others who had scaled by the S.W. bastion, and the new Godowns, that bastion and the barrier, as I afterwards learnt, having been deserted the time the western gate was forced. To the first Jemmautdaar[2] who scaled at the S.W. bastion I advanced, and delivered my pistols; he told me to order instantly our colours to be cut down; I replied, I would give no such orders, they were masters of the fort, and might order it themselves; he demanded my sword, I refused

[1] The principal river gate.

[2] i.e., *jamātdār*, sergeant; from Arabic *jama'h*, or *jama't*.

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delivering it, but in presence of the Suba, on which the Jemmautdaar carried me round the ramparts, opposite to where the Suba was below, without the walls, from thence I made him the customary Salaam, and delivered my sword to his Jemmautdaar; the Suba from his litter returned my Salaam, and moved round to the northward, and entered the fort by the small western gate.[1] I had three interviews with him that evening, one in Durbar.[2] At first he expressed much resentment at our presumption, in defending the fort against his army with so few men, asked why I did not run away with my Governour, &c. seemed much disappointed and dissatisfied at the sum found in the treasury, asked me many questions on this subject, to all which I made the best reply that occurred; and on the conclusion he assured me on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to me, which he repeated more than once. The consequence proved how little regard was paid to this assurance, for I was with the rest of my fellow sufferers, about eight at night, crammed into the Black-Hole Prison, and past a night of horrors I will not attempt to describe, as they bar all descriptions. On the ensuing morning, (the 21st of June) I was taken out from amongst the dead, and again carried before the Suba, more dead than alive; he seemed little affected when I told him the miserable catastrophe of my companions; he answered me, by saying, he was well informed there was an immense treasure buried or secreted in the fort, and that I was privy to it, and commanded me to point out where it was hid, if I expected favour (one of his Jemmautdaars had told me on the way the cause of my being sent for, and advised me to make a full discovery, or that I should be shot off from the mouth of a cannon the next half hour). I urged every thing possible against the information he had received, or that if such a thing had been done, I was totally a stranger to it; but all I could say seemed to gain no credit with the Suba, who ordered me a prisoner, under charge of one of his generals, Mhir Modun [Mîr Madan], and with me Messrs. Court, Walcot, and Burdet, as intimated in my letter from Muxadabad, to which letter I beg leave to refer for the account of our subsequent

[1] The smaller or most northern of the two river gates.

[2] i.e., in *darbār*, in court, in the presence of his principal officers.

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sufferings, and to subscribe myself, with the most perfect respect and duty,

Honourable Sirs,

Your ever faithful and obedient humble servant.

FULTA,
November 30th, 1756.

288. AN ACCOUNT OF THE FORCE IN CALCUTTA AND OTHER FORTS.

Extract from Bengal Select Committee Consultations, dated Fulta, December 22, 1756. *Orme Collection, O.V.*, 170.

The President acquaints the Committee that . . . one of Govindram Metre's people . . . has . . . sent down an Account of the Strength of Calcutta Tannah &c. which he lays before them.

ORDERED the said account to be entered after this days Proceedings.

In Calcutta	...	...	332 Horse.		
„	...	...	1,100 Burgundasses.		
„	...	...	500 Pykes and peons.		
At Tannah's	...	...	300 „	„	
Opposite Tannahs	...	...	...	...	6 Guns.
At Tannahs	...	...	...	...	9 Ditto.
Mr Holwells Garden		...	...	...	3 Ditto.
Surmans Ditto	...	...	...	...	4 „
At the Carpenters Yard		...	...	...	2 „
By the Water Side the Same as formerly.					
On the Bastions the Same.					
Mr Watts his house		...	...	...	2 „
Seats Gaut	...	...	...	...	2 „
Margas's Gaut	...	...	...	...	2 „
At the Gunge	...	...	...	...	4 „

Opposite Tannahs 3 Sloops and 2 Brigantins filled with Earth, they are teaching people to play Bombs.

289. CALCUTTA RETAKEN.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, January 3 *and January* 4, 1757, *Range I., Vol. XXIX.*

January 3.—Vice Admiral Watson having taken Calcutta with his Majesty's Ships of War, now delivers up the Charge and

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Possession of the Fort and Town to us the President and Council, as Representatives for the Honourable East India Company.

AGREED we return Admiral Watson our Thanks on the Behalf of our Honourable Masters, ourselves, and the inhabitants of Calcutta for the Assistance of his Squadron in Re-taking our Settlement.

AGREED likewise that we proclaim Fort William the Seat of our Presidency and publish our Protection to the black Inhabitants who are willing to return to the Place.

January 4.—ORDERED that the Mosque built in the Factory be demolished.

290. RESOLUTION TO MAKE THE FORT DEFENSIBLE.

Extract from Bengal Select Committee Consultations, dated Fort William, January 6, 1757. *Orme Collection, O.V.*, 170.

As it appears from the Intelligence We have Gathered that The Nabob Certainly designs setting out with his whole Force in a few days towards Calcutta We are of opinion the first Step necessary to be taken is to make the present Fort as defensible as We can to prevent a Second Capture for which We think the Houses that are contiguous and Near the Fort should be Levelled and that the Colonel and Mr. Barker should Survey the Fort and Report what Works may be proper to throw up for our immediate defence, and that those Gentlemen do point out what Houses they may think proper to have Levelled.

291. HOUSES TO BE SURVEYED.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, January 6, 1757. *Range 1., Vol. XXIX.*

The Secret Committee acquaint the Board that it will be necessary to level some of the Houses round the Fort in order to make it defensible.

ORDERED Messrs. Becher, Collet, Beaumont and Raitt to survey the Houses that are to be pulled down, and Estimate their Value, at which Valuation the Company are to pay for the same.

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292. Mr. Clive sends to Madras for Engineers.

Extract from Letter from Colonel Clive to the Hon. George Pigot, Esq., and the Select Committee at Fort St. George. Fort William, January 8, 1757. Orme Collection, India, X.

'The Gentlemen here are come to a resolution of razing the houses near the fort, and I shall give my utmost assistance in putting it in the best posture of defence possible; which however can never make it more than barely tenable against a country enemy; for to all it's former defects when taken from us, the Moors have broke down part of the Curtain to make room for a mosque they were erecting: as there is no one here capable of planning or erecting a proper fortification for this settlement I cannot help representing to you, Gentlemen, the immediate necessity of sending some skilful person for that service from the Court.'

293. Proposals for fortifying Fort William.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, January 10 and January 13, 1757. Range I., Vol. XXIX.

Letter from Clive and Barker.

January 10.—Lieutenant Colonel Clive and Mr. Barker deliver in a Letter to the Board setting forth, that in order to render Fort William as defensible as the Time will admit against the Nabob and his Army, they propose that a ditch be immediately carried round the Fort 30 ft. broad and 12 ft. deep, that the Earth from the Ditch do serve as a Parapet or Breast Work to the Facesse Bray, that at the Southern Barrier there be a Fascine Battery erected with a good Ditch round it to flank the Southern Face of the Fort, and at the North West Barrier the same, and the Work already begun at the Eastern Gate be compleated, and that certain Houses round the Fort be levell'd.

The Surveyor's Letter concerning the Houses.

January 13.—Messrs. Becher, Collet, Beaumont and Raitt deliver in a Letter to the Board relating to the Houses they were ordered to survey with an Estimation of their Value.

Ordered it to be entered after this Consultation. . . .

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TO THE HONOURABLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQ^r, PRESIDENT, &C., COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Agreable to your desire we have valued the undermentioned Houses at the following Rates viz.

	Arcot Rupees.
Mr. Cruttendens House to the Northward	3,000
Omichunds House commonly called Mr. Tooke's	700
Omichaunds House over against Mr. Tookes with the adjoining Godowns	3,000
Mr. Eyres House	7,000
Omichaunds two Houses to the East	3,000
Mr Coales House	6,500
Mr. Amyats House	4,500

We are, with Respect, Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most Obedient Humble Servants,

RICHARD BECHER. M. COLLET.
A. BEAUMONT. T. RAITT.

CALCUTTA,
11th January, 1757.

294. DRAKE'S CRITICISM OF HOLWELL.

Extract from Governor Drake's Narrative, and Vindication of his own Conduct at the Loss of Calcutta, addressed to the Council, January 24, 1757. *Orme Collection, India, IV.*

Mr. Holwell inserts a reasoning in his 33d. paragraph that would have better become him at the time Colonel Scott our Engineer General proposed the plan of erecting a redoubt and drawbridge at Baag Bazar with other works and which works were then totally approved of by the gentlemen of Council and by the Company, who ordered them to be completed, which were begun before Colonel Scott's death, and afterwards carried on by his assistants, Mr. Wells and O'Hara until the finishing the redoubt and drawbridge therefore this after too late opinion of what should have been more properly done, would have been a motion with great propriety made early last year if he was then so well instructed in fortifications and had been so well inclined to give his advice setting forth the fortifications he now recommends which probably would have secured us if such operations had been agreed.

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295. REPORT OF THE FORTIFICATIONS AT FORT WILLIAM.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal, dated Fort William, January 26, 1757. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. III.*

17. As it would be imprudent to risque a second Capture of the Settlement in case We should be unsuccessful in the ffield, We are making the present Fort as defensible as We can by digging a Ditch 30 Feet wide round the Walls, levelling the Houses within paces round, and throwing up a Glacis with the Dirt of the Ditch and the Rubbish of the Houses. These works will amount to a trifle and will, We imagine, Secure us from further Attempts of the Government. . . .

296. LETTER FROM CLIVE TO MADRAS ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Clive, dated Camp on Barnagur Plain, January 28, 1757, *to the Select Committee at Fort St. George. Madras Select Committee Consultations, February* 24, 1757, *Range C., Vol. LI.*

I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that a Ditch of 30 Feet and 12 deep is finished, and Esplanade of 200 Yards and a Glacis will likewise be compleated in 5 or 6 days, to the Southward the Wall of the Godown is raised equal to the Curtain and a Strong Battery will be erected at the Southern Barrier by the water Side which will Flank all that Face, another at the Northern Barrier by the Water Side will flank the Northern Face; to the East a Ravelin which had been begun by the Gentlemen of Calcutta, will be made a large and fine Battery, which will flank all that Face; from the Western side there is nothing to fear, being well secur'd by the River and a Strong Line of Guns: All this Work I am positive will be compleated in less than 10 Days. The Ditch will be palisaded and may be either kept wet or Dry with great Ease: in Short I may assure you Fort William cannot be taken again by the Moors but by Cowardice.

297. ANOTHER REPORT FROM THE COUNCIL ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Extracts from General Letter from Bengal, dated January 31, 1757. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. III.*

9. We are now making the Fort as defensible as our time will admit of, to prevent a second Capture should the Nabob attack it

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again. To do this it is immediately necessary to level several of the Houses near the Fort, they have been pointed out by Colonel Clive and Mr. Barker and valued by Messrs. Becher, Collet, Raitt and Beaumont. This Expense will not be very considerable, and is a charge which cannot be avoided.

24. The House and Ground your Honours mention to have been bought by Colonel Scott, was purchased at his Death by Captain John Buchanan, of whom we bought the Mills for making Powder for the Sum of 4,000 Rupees, and took the Provision of that Article into our own hands on your Account. . . .

298. ANOTHER LETTER FROM CLIVE ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

xtract from Letter from Clive to the Secret Committee in England, dated Camp near Calcutta, February 1, 1757. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. III.*

Fort William is already in a very tolerable state of defence. The Ditch is finished and in few Days a Glacis will be completed with an Esplanade of near 150 Yards. The Inclosed Plan will inform you what other Works will be added, on the whole I may venture to assure you that in Eight or Ten Days it will be out of all Danger from the Moors.[1]

299. STIPULATIONS AS TO THE FORTIFICATIONS OF CALCUTTA.

Extract from Articles to be digested into a Treaty and demanded of the Nabob. Bengal Select Committee Consultations, Fort William, February 6, 1757. *Orme Collection, O.V.*, 170.

Fifthly. That we have Liberty to fortifye Calcutta in such manner as we may think proper and that our Bounds do extend the Whole Circle of the ditch dug upon the Invasion of the Morrattoes. That we be put in possession of the Thirty eight Villages Granted by the Phirmaund[2] and be allowed to govern the same upon the Terms there expressed.

Lastly. That the Nabob do not erect any Forts or Fortifications below Calcutta within a Mile of the River Side, and that such as are now remaining be destroyed.

[1] As a matter of fact, I doubt whether much more was done than dig a ditch (see extracts 314 and 315).

[2] i.e., by the *farmān* of Farrukhsiyar in 1717.

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300. Trees to be cut down and Powder Mill repaired.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, February 14, 1757. *Range I., Vol. XXIX.*

This being a good Opportunity to open the Town by cutting down the Trees with which it is surrounded.

Ordered that Permission be given to all Persons to cut down the Trees within our Bounds, Orange Trees and other fruit Trees excepted, and that the Wood shall belong to those who pay the Labourers.[1]

Ordered the Powder Mills at Perrins to be repaired and that Major Killpatrick do supravise the making of Gun Powder.

301. The Council waive the Stipulation as to Fortifications below Calcutta.

Extract from a Letter from the Select Committee at Fort William to William Watts, dated February 16, 1757. *Orme Collection, O.V.*, 170.

Eighthly. Could we obtain a promise from the Nabob that he will not Erect any Fortifications below Calcutta within a mile of the River, it would be very usefull but there is no Necessity to demand this concession.

302. Proceedings from February 19 to March 9, 1757.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 19, *February* 28, *and March* 9, 1757. *Range I., Vol. XXIX.*

Allowance made to the Servants for House Rent.

February 19.—The Factory House Company's House and all the Apartments for the Senior and Junior Servants being entirely destroyed by the Moors the Board are of opinion that an Allowance should be made the Covenanted Servants in lieu of habitation and in Consideration of the late Calamity by which the Articles of Provisions and other necessarys are grown dearer than formerly, whereby the Inhabitants are render'd incapable of subsisting themselves.

[1] See also General Letter from Bengal to the Court, Fort William, February 23, 1757, paragraph 5 (*Bengal Letters Received*, Vol. III.).

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AGREED the following Allowances be made

The President	...	...	300 Rupees per Month.
Each Member of Council	...	100	Ditto.
Senior and Junior Merchants		70	Ditto.
Factors and Writers	...	40	Ditto.

to commence the 1st January, 1757.

O'Hara complains of being superseded.[1]

Mr. Charles O'Hara sends in a Letter to the Board concerning the appointment of Mr. Barker for the carrying on the Works for the defence of Fort William.

ORDER'D his Letter to be enter'd after this Consultation.

TO THE HONOURABLE ROGER DRAKE, ESQ^r, PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, &C., COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Observing your Honour &c. have been pleased to put the Fortifications and other Works since the Re-establishment of Calcutta under the Care of Captain Barker who is a Junior Engineer to me in the Service and not belonging to this Settlement[2] I am humbly to request you will transmitt your Reasons to my Honourable Employers for setting me aside that they may not have cause to conclude from your Appointment of that Gentleman that I am less capable or deserving such a Trust[3] as they have thought fit to insist on my serving them as an Engineer till they shall please to remove me to some other Employment. I am the more earnest in requesting this piece of Justice from your Honour &c. as you are sensible your selves that the Work now in Hand are the same I proposed to you when you sent for me and Directed me to join Messrs. Simpson and Lébeaume in concerting some speedy Method for the Defence of the Place against the Nabob and which I will take upon me to make clear might have been done with as much ease and in as little Time as those that were thrown up so greatly against my Inclinations being by far too extensive for the handfull of Men then in the Settlement to defend but your

[1] O'Hara had followed the Governor, and deserted the fort and his duty on June 19, 1756.

[2] It appears from the Court Minutes that, on November 8, 1752, William Wells was appointed Lieutenant of the Company of Artillery on the Coast of Coromandel, and Robert Barker was similarly appointed Lieutenant of the Company of Artillery at Fort William. Apparently the two exchanged—Wells came to Fort William, served under Scott, and died there; Barker went first to the Coromandel Coast, and did not come to Calcutta till 1757.

[3] This is pretty well for a deserter.

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Honour &c. thinking it impracticable and that it would be running the Company into a needless Expense as well as spoiling the Town were pleased to disapprove it at that Time and pursue another project for the Truth of this I must Appeal to your Honour &c. and Depend upon your Representation of my Conduct when I was employ'd by which my Honourable Employers will judge of me and either acquit or Censure me as they shall see good.

I am, with Respect, Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most Obedient Humble Servant,
C. O'HARA

CALCUTTA,
17 *February*, 1757.

Quarters to be prepared for the Military.

February 28.—The Quarter Master having reported that the most proper Places for Quarters for the Military, are the Play House, the present dwelling House of George Alsop, and the upper part of the Horse Stables if they were properly repaired,

ORDERED the Buxie to repair them in proper manner for the Reception of the Military.

Magazine and Goal to be repaired.

March 9.—The Magazine and Goal being in want of great Repairs

ORDERED the Buxey to set people at work and put them in a proper Condition for their respective uses.

303. HOLWELL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BLACK HOLE.

Extracts from a Letter from J. Z. Holwell, Esq., to William Davis, Esq., from on board the Syren *Sloop, February* 28, 1757. *India Tracts, by John Zephaniah Holwell, Esq., F.R.S., and Friends, London*, 1774.

Before I conduct you into the Black Hole, it is necessary you should be acquainted with a few introductory Circumstances. The Suba and his troops were in possession of the fort before six in the evening. I had in all three interviews with him: the last in Durbar before seven, when he repeated his assurances to me, *on the word of a soldier*, that no harm should come to us; and indeed I believe his orders were only general, That we should for the night be secured; and that what followed was the result of revenge and resentment in the breasts of the lower Jemmaatdaars, to whose

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custody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the siege. Be this as it may, as soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction, directed by the guard over us, to collect ourselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched Veranda or piazza,[1] to the west of the Black-Hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard; and just over against the windows of the governor's easterly apartments.[2] Besides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of this Veranda, leading up to the south-east bastion, to prevent any of us escaping that way. On the parade (where you will remember the two twenty-four pounders stood) were also drawn up about four or five hundred gun-men with lighted matches.

At this time the factory was in flames to the right and left of us; to the right[3] the Armory and Laboratory;[4] to the left[5] the Carpenter's yard, though at this time we imagined it was the Cotta-warehouses.[6] Various were our conjectures on this appearance; the fire advanced with rapidity on both sides; and it was the prevailing opinion, that they intended suffocating us between the two fires, and this notion was confirmed by the appearance, about half an hour past seven, of some officers and people with lighted torches in their hands, who went into all the apartments under the easterly curtain to the right of us;[7] to which we apprehended they were setting fire, to expedite their scheme of burning us. On this we presently came to a resolution, of rushing on the guard, seizing their scymitars, and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death. But to be satisfied of

[1] What follows will be made clearer by reference to the plan of Calcutta by Wells in 1753, and to my plan of the south-east angle of the fort in 1756 (see Plates VIII. and IX.).

[2] They were evidently at the east end of the south wing of the factory (see Wells's plan).

[3] i.e., to the north.

[4] The armory was probably the central building in the northern section of the fort. The laboratory was, it is evident, also in the northern section.

[5] i.e., to the south.

[6] The plan of Calcutta by Wells in 1753 shows that the warehouses occupied the eastern part of the structure built on to the south curtain. From this passage it appears that the west part was the carpenter's yard.

[7] The rooms to the right or north of the east gate (see the plan by Wells).

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their intentions, I advanced, at the request of Messrs. Baillie, Jenks, and Revely, to see if they were really setting fire to the apartments, and found the contrary; for in fact, as it appeared afterwards, they were only searching for a place to confine us in; the last they examined being the barracks of the court of guard behind us.

Here I must detain you a little, to do honour to the memory of a man, to whom I had in many instances been a friend, and who on this occasion, demonstrated his sensibility of it in a degree worthy of a much higher rank. His name was Leech, the Company's smith, as well as clerk of the parish; this man had made his escape when the Moors entered the fort, and returned just as it was dark, to tell me he had provided a boat, and would ensure my escape, if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he had then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put over us took but very slight notice of us.) I thanked him in the best terms I was able; but told him it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shewn to me; and, that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would; but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time; to which he gallantly replied, that then he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me.

To myself and the world I should surely have stood excused in embracing the overture above-mentioned, could I have conceived what immediately followed; for I had scarce time to make him an answer, before we observed part of the guard drawn up on the parade, advance to us with the officers who had been viewing the rooms. They ordered us all to rise and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard. The barracks, you may remember, have a large wooden platform for the soldiers to sleep on, and are open to the west by arches and a small parapet-wall, corresponding to the arches of the Veranda without. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartments in reserve for us. For we were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and

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parapet-wall; and with their muskets presented, ordered us to go nto the room at the southernmost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black-Hole prison; whilst others from the Court of Guard, with clubs and drawn scymitars, pressed upon those of us next them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and the pressure so great upon us next the door of the Black-Hole prison, there was no resisting it; but like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter; the rest followed like a torrent, few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, having the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen: for if we had, we should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice cut to pieces.

Amongst the first that entered, were myself, Messrs. Baillie, Jenks, Cooke, T. Coles, Ensign Scot, Revely, Law, Buchanan, &c. I got possession of the window nearest the door, and took Messrs. Coles and Scot into the window with me, they being both wounded (the first I believe mortally). The rest of the Above-mentioned gentlemen were close round me. It was now about eight o'clock.

Figure to yourself, my friend, if possible, the situation of a hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air. . . .

In the Black-Hole there is a platform corresponding with that in the barracks; I travelled over the dead, and repaired to the further end of it, just opposite the other window, and seated myself on the platform oetween Mr. Dumbleton and Captain Stevenson, the former just then expiring. I was still happy in the same calmness of mind I had preserved the whole time; death I expected as unavoidable and only lamented its slow approach, though the moment I quitted the window, my breathing grew short and painful.

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Here my poor friend Mr. Edward Eyre came staggering over the dead to me, and with his usual coolness and good-nature, asked me how I did? but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply. I laid myself down on some of the dead behind me, on the platform; and recommending myself to heaven, had the comfort of thinking my sufferings could have no long duration. . . .

At this juncture the Suba, who had received an account of the havock death had made amongst us, sent one of his Jemmautdaars to inquire if the chief survived. They shewed me to him; told him I had appearance of life remaining, and believed I might recover if the door was opened very soon. This answer being returned to the Suba, an order came immediately for our release, it being then near six in the morning. . . .

The little strength remaining amongst the most robust who survived, made it a difficult task to remove the dead piled up against the door; so that I believe it was more than twenty minutes before we obtained a passage out for one at a time.

I had soon reason to be convinced the particular enquiry made after me did not result from any dictate of favour, humanity, or contrition; when I came out, I found myself in a high putrid fever, and, not being able to stand, threw myself on the wet grass[1] without the Veranda, when a message was brought me, signifying I must immediately attend the Suba. . . .

I was ordered to the camp of Mhir Muddon's quarters, within the outward ditch,[2] something short of Omychund's garden (which you know is above three miles from the fort) and with me Messieurs Court, Walcot, and Burdet. The rest, who survived the fatal night, gained their liberty, except Mrs. Carey, who was too young and handsome. The dead bodies were promiscuously thrown into the ditch of our unfinished ravelin, and covered with the earth.

[1] From this it seems that some parts of the parade, apparently the sides by the verandas or arches, were turfed. The excavations seemed to show that other parts were paved with brick on edge over one flat.

[2] On opening the ground at the north-west corner of Dalhousie Square, where the monument once again stands, the edge of this ditch can be plainly seen in section.

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304. BROHIER DETAINED IN MADRAS.

Extract from Proceedings of the Select Committee at Fort William, Saturday, March 12, 1757. Orme Collection, O.V., 170.

Yesterday we received Two Letters from the Select Committee at Fort St. George dated the 21 and 28 February. . . . They enclose a letter from the Secret Committee for our President received by his Majestys Ship *Triton* that it was necessary for them to open it That they might determine Whether to send down Captain Brohier immediately. That finding the Intentions of the Secret Committee to be, To Lay a plan for Fortifying the whole Town of Calcutta or the Principal part of it which could not possibly be Set about in our Present unsettled Scituation, and Colonel Clive having acquainted them with the Works that had been thrown up round Fort William So as to secure it against the Attempts of a Country enemy, They resolved to detain Captain Brohier whose Presence is very necessary to finish the Works in hand at that place untill they have the Pleasure to hear we are in such a State of Tranquility as will Enable Us to enter upon a proper plan of Fortifications.

305. THE COURT ORDER BROHIER TO BENGAL.

Extracts from General Letter from the Court to Bengal, dated March 25, 1757. Bengal Despatches, Vol. I.

76. The Death of Collonel Scott and the want of able People for undertaking such an Important Work as the Fortifying Fort William has almost totally disconcerted our Designs but wee have some prospect of engaging in the Company's Service a Gentleman of tryed Abilitys and known Skill as an Engineer but this at present we can only hint for your Information, in the mean time as the War with France justly alarms us and wee cannot but be apprehensive that your Settlement may be liable to an Attack wee empowered the Secret Committee to give some Directions on this Head which they communicated to the President in a Letter dated the 25th of May last by his Majestys Ship the *Triton*, allso by the *Prince Henry* Packet in Duplicates by each Ship with Directions for their being forwarded to Bengal from the Places where those Ships were first Destined which Letter Wee hope will have

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long since come to the Presidents Hands, however we shall now in general adopt the same by what follows.

77. Wee are to inform you then that as Wee cannot at present think of any Person so fitt and capable in all respects to Fortifye Fort William in effectual manner as Captain John Brohier our present Engineer upon the Coast of Choromandel wee hope in consequence of the orders sent by the Committee of Secrecy he has or will be able to proceed accordingly to Bengal.

78. Since the Death of Collonel Scott wee observe the Affair o the Fortifications has fallen under the Directions and Thoughts of different People whose Sentiments are accordingly various and in particular Mr. Simpson seems to think that Gentlemans Planns inconvenient and Expencive this with all other opinions must therefore be well weighed and considered by you previous to your engaging in any Expencive Works.

79. Notwithstanding the Directions in our General Letter of the 11th of February 1756 on being informed of the Death of Collonel Scott to suspend the carrying into Execution that Gentleman's Plann, the President in concert with the Select Committee and with you as our General Council are when necessary to concert with Captain Brohier the propper Measures for immediately rendering our Settlement at Fort William Defencible against the French or any other European Force, he is to be furnishd with any Planns and Projects of the late Mr. Robbins as well as Collonel Scotts that are procurable, he is to have all necessary Informations, Intelligence, and Advice, from all which he is to consider of and Form a Plann for a Fortification which according to the best of his Judgement will be effectual in the present Conjuncture as well as for the future at the least possible Expence. After the President in Concert with the Select Committee and you as our general Council when necessary have well considered the said Plann together with an Estimate of the Time Expence, Materials and Workmen necessary to compleat it, if you approve thereof you are to carry the same forthwith into Execution, in the Manner and Method laid down in our several Letters of late particularly such as were given during the time of Collonel Scott.

80. Captain Brohier must whenever the Fortifications and

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Works are under consideration have a Seat and a voice at the Council Board, and agreeable to the Method at Fort St. George, you are to appoint a Standing Committee to consider of ways and means for carrying on Works with Aeconimy and to the greatest advantage as well in providing Materials as in all other Branches, such a Committee must constantly subsist and Captain Brohier must be always a Member of it, and they are to Report their Proceedings from time to time to the Council Board for your Information and are to carry into Execution all such Directions as you think propper to give them.

81. By the death of Colonel Scott Wee were deprived of the Estimates of the Expences of the Works projected by him, but wee shall expect by the earliest Conveyance all such as may be necessary for our Information in the Works to be Constructed and Carried on under Captain Brohier as well as the Planns, Drawings and Sections of them, these wee should have been glad to have been furnished with before giving Possitive Directions for beginning the said Works, but as the present Dangerous Juncture will not admit of such a necessary Precaution Wee must recommend it to you to begin with such Part of the Plann as will be of the most immediate use and may be of Future Utility even upon the supposition that Wee should not approve of the whole of Captain Brohier's intended Plann or Project.

82. As during the Proceedings in this Work as well as previous to the Undertaking them many things may occur in which great Secrecy will be necessary such therefore are to fall under the Cognizance of and be transacted by the Select Committee to be communicated to You when they shall judge it safe and proper.

83. The beforegoing Directions are given upon the supposition that Mr. Brohier can be spaired to proceed to You but if contrary to our Expectation he does not come to Bengal You are then with the best Assistance you have or can procure from such Persons as are best Quallified in the Engineering way only to Sett about such Works as are immediately necessary for the Defence of the Place in which you are to have a view to their Utility when a future Regular Plann can be formed by such Person as shall be appointed by us for that purpose.

95. Wee are very sencible that if such unbecoming Behaviour

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as Mr. Plaisteds was to be passed over without a propper Resentment it would lessen you in the Eyes of the whole Settlement and render your Authority as a Board and our immediate Representatives contemptible, Your suspending him from our Service therefore was a very right measure. Altho' wee have a due Sence of Mr. Plaisteds former Services and have a good Opinion of his Honesty yet there appears such a Turbulence in his Temper that wee cannot think it will be for the Interest of or advantagious to the Company to let him return to India (from whence he voluntarily came after his suspension) and therefore have not complyed with his Request for that purpose.[1]

306. Materials for building advertised.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, March 31, 1757. *Range I., Vol. XXIX.*

As we shall be in want of a large Quantity of Materials of all kinds for our Works upon the Arrival of Mr. Brohier, the Board think it adviseable to prepare every thing of that kind before his coming down, that there may be no delay, as soon as he has pitch'd upon a proper Spot, and prepares his Plan.

Ordered the Secretary therefore to put up an Advertisement, that we are ready to contract for Chunam, Bricks Jaggaree &c. &c. on reasonable terms.

307. Powder Magazines unfit for Use.

Extract from Bengal Select Committee Consultations. Fort William, April 9, 1757. *Range A., Vol. I.*

Our Magazines not being yet properly repaired for the reception of Powder which now Lays in the Factory greatly exposed to Casualties

It is Agreed to Hire the Ship *Speedwell* to Lade our Powder on board till the magazines are in order at the rate of 2,000 A. Rs. per Mensum of which the Council must be informed at their next Meeting.

[1] In the same letter McGwire was allowed to return to his former station.

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308. Stipulations with Mir Ja'for.

Extract from Demands on Consideration of supporting Meer Jaffeir. Bengal Select Committee Consultations, Fort William, May 1, and May 17, 1757. Orme Collection, O.V., 170.

May 1.—3rd. That our Bounds do extend from Surman's Garden Southward to the districts of Barnagur Northward and the Lake Eastward.

Articles sent by Mr. Watts for the Approbation of the Committee.

May 17.—9th. Whatever Ground there is within the Calcutta ditch belonging to the Zemidars to be given up to the English, and 600 Yards without the ditch all round.

309. Offices for the Secretary and Accomptant.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, May 2, 1757. Range I., Vol. XXIX.

As there are no Places at present allotted for the Secretary's and Accomptant's Offices, and the Business is much behind hand for want of all proper Places for the Assistants to write in

Ordered two Rooms in the Town Hall be fitted up for that purpose, and that the Buxey do provide Desks &c.

310. Barker's Proposed Fortifications.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, May 2, 1757. Range I., Vol. XXIX.

Captain Robert Barker having been desired by the President to survey the Town and report to the Board the Spot which he thinks would be most proper to fortifie; He now sends in a Letter with his Sentiments and reasons for the Choice he has made.

Ordered his Letter to be entered after this Consultation.

Notwithstanding the Board approve in general of the Scheme proposed in Mr. Barker's Letter, yet they do not think themselves authoris'd to follow that Plan without Mr. Brohier's Approbation, to whose Judgement it must be submitted, and in the Interim Captain Barker was requested to make out a Plan of the present

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Fort, in what manner it is to be compleated for defence, how many Guns are necessary to mount on it &c. &c. that we may give Orders accordingly.

TO THE HONOURABLE PRESIDENT AND COUNCILL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURED SIR AND SIRS

Agreeable to a request made by the Governor I have Examined the Ground to the Eastward of present Fort and am of Opinion that with a very little Expence a proper Spot of Ground may be cleared about 6 Hundred yards directly East of it sufficient for a fort and Esplanade round it and 7 or 8 Hundred Yards by pulling down 6 or 7 of the principal or upper roomed Houses as all the rest from the East of Lady Russell's House to the Bread and Cheese Bunglow are Houses of no Consequence and black Peoples Hutts and to the North and South Hutts with a few small lower roomed Houses so that nothing more is required than an Avenue to the River which is near already done and would be compleatly so was the Houses cleared away from the Court House to Mr. Cooke's House when the old Fort is pulled down my Reasons for pitching on this Spot are as follows.

First it appears to be the highest and consequently the most wholesome part near the Town without retiring it too great a Distance besides the Command it would have over the adjacent Parts.

Secondly it may be erected at such a convenient Distance from the River that no Ships whatever will be able to Batten or even hurt the Walls and yet be of no Detriment to the Expedition of Business as a Canall may be brought from the River close to the Fort and have proper Wharfs and Keys with Cranes for the Embarking and Disembarking of Goods in Boats and at the same Time furnish the Town with Water by having Pipes of Communication under Ground to large Cisterns for that Purpose in the Fort. May also supply the Ditches with Water with proper Sluices to retain or lett it out at low Tides. The large Tank will contribute greatly to the accomplishing this Canal since the length of it is near one third finished to our Hands.

Thirdly it will by being placed in the Center of the Town retain all the Advantages the old Fort had such as the Conveniency of the Inhabitants living near the Factory for the Expedition of Business the Protection that such a place has for the Town without Deserting or Destroying it which would soon be the Consequence was it built at any Distance from the present Town the Black Merchants would then return to their respective Houses in Security and the Superstitious Notion that these Country People has always retained for an old Town wherein their Generation was Bred and Born would still continue so that in a little Time the place would be as populous as ever if not more so.

Fourthly that by being built so near the old Fort it will be protected from any Insults which might otherwise happen if at a Distance and the People on the Works are not liable to be disturbed by any Alarms which would retard the

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Works and oblige them to run away that by being so near the Town the Work People would be at hand and consequently be on the Works sooner and Work later than they could do was it at any distance.

Fiftily that Limits might be appointed by having small flags or Posts set up at certain Distances by which no persons should build within those Bounds so that in length of Time the Esplanade might be increas'd to what Distance was thought proper and the Fort would soon become the Center of the Town.

Sixthly that this Scheme will be no Hindrance to the Project proposed by Colonel Scott on the contrary rather an Advantage for as the Colonel intended securing the whole Town by building Redoubts at certain Distances and having a Ditch entirely round the Whole it may at any Time be put in Execution whenever the Company pleases and the intended Fort when the Town can be no longer defended will be a secure Retreat and act as a Citadell to the whole. Batterys may be Built on any convenient points of Land to Retard Ships in coming up the River with safe Retreats to the Fort and it will not be unnecessary to have a line of Guns on each side the Canall at the Riverside Constructed on a method proper for the fighting of Ships and

Lastly I humbly presume it will be necessary to secure the old Fort in the best manner possible as the Defence of the new one will entirely depend on it till such Times as it is capable of defending itself to do which it will be necessary to rebuild the Parapets of the four Bastions Repair the Battery on the Riverside and Pallasade the new Works which will Contribute greatly to its Security in the Rains and may be easily executed as near the Quantity sufficient can be had from Chandernagor.

If this has the Honour to meet with the Approbation of the President and Councill and they think proper to fix on that spot of Ground for a new Fort I believe a method might be pitched upon whereby the Ground could be cleared away with Expedition during the Rains and every thing made ready for the beginning such a Work after they were over.

But in the mean Time humbly beg your Honours Authority to carry on what Works are in hand by an Order from the President and Councill as at present I have none being sorry to inform you that the Works have been greatly Retarded for want of such an Authority and as I have the Honour to fill the Employs of Engineer and Captain of Artillery in this Settlement beg your further indulgence of such Priviledges as were allowed those Gentlemen who supply'd those places before me and I shall always make it my Study to execute any Trust you may think fit to repose in me to the utmost of my abilities And am with all possible Esteem and Respect

Honoured Sir and Sirs

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

ROBERT BARKER.

FORT WILLIAM,
May 2nd, 1757

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311. James Mace appointed Chief Engineer.

Extracts from General Letter to Bengal. Fort William, May 4, 1757. Bengal Despatches, Vol. I.

1. In our last General Letter of the 25th of March wee hinted to you that wee had some Prospect of engaging in the Companys Service a Gentleman of tryed Abilitys and known Skill as an Engineer wee are now to inform you that wee have actually entertained Mr. James Mace to be our Chief Engineer at the Presidency of Bengal, but as he did not arrive from Gibraltar time enough to take his Passage to you on the Coast and Bay Ships he proceeds by the way of Bombay in order to get to his propper Station as soon after as the Season will permit and a good Conveyance offers, in the mean time wee have given Directions to the President and Council at Bombay to take the Advantage of Mr. Maces Thoughts, Projects and Assistance during his Stay at that Presidency.

2. In the present Scituation of a French War wee could not but have some Apprehensions of Fort Williams being attacked by the Enemy but as upon the Death of Collonel Scott wee were at a loss for a fitt and capable Person to put it in a propper State of Defence wee fixed upon Mr. Brohier for that purpose if he could be spaired from his Duty on the Choromandel Coast and accordingly in our said General Letter wee sent you the necessary Directions for Proceeding upon the Works, whether that Gentleman may have been with you is very doubtful, but if it happens that he is at Fort William upon the arrival of Mr. Mace he is as soon after as may be convenient to return to Fort St. George after he has given such Information Advice and Assistance as may be of use to Mr. Mace.

3. Mr. Mace having no separate Powers from us as Engineer he is to Act under your Direction you are therefore to give him the necessary Orders from time to time and furnish him with Copys of such Parts of our Letters and your own Proceedings as may be useful to him and of whatever else may be material for his Information.

4. In general wee sent you our Directions for the Works at Fort William upon the supposition of Mr. Brohiers conducting

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them they will serve in the present Case with little variation wee shall therefore proceed upon that Plann in what follows.

5. Since the death of Collonel Scott wee observe the Affair of the Fortifications has fallen under the Directions and Thoughts of different People whose Sentiments are accordingly various, and in particular Mr. Simpson seems to think that Gentleman's Planns inconvenient and Expencive this with all other Opinions must therefore be well weighed and considered by you previous to your engaging in or carrying on any expencive Works.

6. Notwithstanding the Directions in our General Letter of the 11th of February 1756 on being informed of the Death of Collonel Scott to suspend the carrying into execution that Gentleman's Project, the President in Concert with the Select Committee and with you as our General Council are when necessary to concert with Mr. Mace the propper Measures for immediately rendering our Settlement at Fort William Defencible against the French or any other European Force, he is to be furnished with any Planns and Projects of the late Mr. Robbins as well as Collonel Scotts that are procurable and likewise such as may be formed by Mr. Brohier, he is to have all necessary Informations, Intelligence and Advice from all which he is to consider of and Form a Plann for a Fortification which according to the best of his Judgement will be effectual in the present Conjuncture as well as for the future at the least possible Expence. After the President in concert with the Select Committee and you as our General Council when necessary have well considered the said Plann together with an Estimate of the Time, Expence, Materials and Workmen necessary to compleat it, if you approve thereof you are to carry the same forthwith into Execution in the Manner and Method laid down in our several Letters of late particularly such as were given during the time of Collonel Scott.

7. In forming all Schemes and Projects you are constantly to bear in mind that the Charges and Expences attending the carrying them into Execution are not to be defrayed out of a publick Treasure but are to be borne by a sett of Merchants out of the precarious profits of Trade. This distinction if duly attended to will be the means of preventing heavy improper and all unnecessary Expences by suiting your Projects to the Circumstances as

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well as the Intentions of the Company. The Object therefore you are never to lose sight of must be That of Confining your Works to a Contracted Plan and avoiding those great Designs hitherto projected by making such Fortifications only as may be defended with a reasonable Number of Men against any enemy.

8. Should you upon the arrival of Mr. Mace have previously agreed to and proceeded upon a Plann of Mr. Brohiers yet the same is to be reconsidered and such parts thereof Adopted or left out or a New one Formed in the manner before Directed, in which you are to desire Mr. Brohier to give an assisting hand if he is on the Spot, as well to explain his own as to give his Thoughts upon any New Proposals.

9. Mr. Mace must whenever the Fortifications and Works are under consideration have a Seat and a Voice at the Council Board, and agreeable to the Method at Fort St. George. You are to appoint a Standing Committee to consider of ways and means for carrying on the Works with Aeconomy and to the greatest Advantage as well in providing Materials as in all other Branches, such a Committee must constantly subsist and Mr. Mace must be always a Member of it, and they are to report their Proceedings from time to time to the Council Board for your Information and are to carry into Execution all such Directions as you shall think propper to give them.

10. Wee shall expect by the earliest Conveyances the necessary Planns Drawings Sections Estimates of the Expences and other particulars necessary for our Information with respect to the Works to be Constructed and carried on by Mr. Mace under your Direction, these wee should have been glad to have been furnishd with before giving Possitive Directions for beginning the said Works, but as the present Dangerous Juncture will not admit of such a necessary precaution wee must recommend it to you to begin with such Part of the Plann as will be of the most immediate use and may be of Future Utility even upon the supposition that wee should not approve of the whole of Mr. Maces Plann or Project.

11. As during the Proceedings in this Work as well as previous to the Undertaking them many things may occur in which great Secrecy will be necessary such therefore are to fall under the

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Cognizance of and be transacted by the Select Committee to be communicated to you when they shall judge it safe and proper.

12. We have agreed to allow Mr. Mace in full consideration for his Services as the Companys Chief Engineer of the Presidency in Bengal the Salary of Three hundred Pounds a Year Sterling. . . .

13. Although it is no part of our Agreement with this Gentleman to find him an House or an Apartment Yet wee would have you accommodate him upon his Arrival or as soon after as may be conveniently done if you can possibly spair one; but it is not intended that the Company should be at any Expence in Hiring an Apartment for him.

18. Having furnished Mr. Mace with several Mathematical Instruments and other Particulars according to the enclosed List, they are always to be looked upon as the Property of the Company and whenever he leaves Bengal they are accordingly to be delivered to you.[1]

312. PROCEEDINGS TOUCHING BUILDINGS AND FORTIFICATIONS FROM MAY TO AUGUST, 1757.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, May 16, *June* 13, 20, *and* 27, *July* 4 *and* 23, *and August* 4, 1757. *Range I., Vol. XXIX.*

Captain Barker's Letter.

May 16.—Captain Barker sends in a Letter desiring our directions for his setting about the compleating of the present Fort agreeable to his Letter deliver'd in the 2nd Instant.

ORDERED Captain Barker to set people about these Works immediately.

Captain Barker's Complaint of the Management of the Buxey's People.

June 13.—Captain Robert Barker sends in a Letter to the Board concerning the management of the Buxey's people in the Works carrying on by his Directions which being read

ORDERED it to be entered after this days Consultation, and that it lay for consideration.

[1] In paragraph 27 of the General Letter from Bengal to the Court, Fort William, February 27, 1758, the Council promise to obey the orders relating to Mr. Mace.

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EXTRACTS FROM CAPTAIN BARKER'S LETTERS.

It is with the greatest Reluctance and Concern that I am obliged to represent to you the Difficulty with which the present Works have been carried on and with how much more Expedition and less Expence could they have been raised if proper Methods had been observed. . . .

Ever since I have had the Overseeing the Works I have endeavour'd to introduce Regulation and put the People in such Methods whereby they might go on and work in some little form as Order is the Life of those Works where many people are concern'd. . . . In order to accomplish this I was obliged to set some few proper Overseers with Banyans to keep Lists and Accounts of the different Detach'd Working Partys as I never had the Pleasure of seeing any of the Company's on the Works excepting a few poor Peons who seemed to have been chosen out of the number of Cooleys. But all my Designs were frustrated by the Buxey's Banyans . . . in consequence wrote a Chitt to Mr. Frankland who return'd Answer that no People should be Employ'd on the Works besides those who were already on without an Order from the Governor and Councill. I submitted to this and was sorry to see the Company imposed upon by a parcell of Cooley's who laugh'd at me as they sat in Groops Smoaking their Hookers I was indeed obliged then to make use of a Rattan which I hear has since been represented in very strong colours . . . for want of these regulations the Cooleys and People employ'd on the Works have been found Sculking in all Holes and Corners either Sleeping Smoaking or counting of Cowries . . . not above one Third of the People Employ'd really work, so that the Company are at a tribble Expence . . . when I had a kind of Authority to muster them which I did with the greatest difficulty . . . then generally found two or three hundred more than appeared on the Works. . . .

I found a great many Inconveniences arise from the Buxey's People Sending in Materials which were not necessary, and Omitting those which were, as for instance: when I wanted Coddaly's [*kudālē*] I generally had a Quantity Baskets sent in; and when I wanted Baskets they seldom neglected to send in Coddaly's. By this means the necessary Work was retarded for two or three Days, and in order to avoid this, I proposed as is customary in the Engineering Branch, to Indent for such things as are requisite. . . .

A Banyan came and informed me that Mr. Frankland said what was wanting in the Works should be sent there, and gave in an Account of what was then in use. I was now in hopes we were coming into some little Form but was soon Convinced to the Contrary, having sent in many Indents for Materials but could never get them Comply'd with but by Dribbletts; so that we were generally waiting for some one Material or other: I imagined that this might be a neglect of the Banyans, and accordingly wrote the following Chitt to Mr. Frankland.

SIR,

I have now Indented for several Materials and have enquired for them daily, but could not get any on the Works, as you must be Ignorant of the

delay of your Banyans was willing to acquaint you, as also of the consequence that attends it. The Bastion has been waiting two Days for Materials, the Draw Bridge more, not having the Indent of Nails Comply'd with, the Glacis has been delay'd for many days past for want of basketts that I Indented for as long ago, there has this Day a parcell of Coddaly's been sent on the Works without any Indent, for which Reason I return them, as the Governour and Councill must naturally think the Delay owing to me, shall be obliged to lay before them the reasons and clear myself. . . .

Upon Receipt of this Chitt Mr. Frankland sent his Banyan to discuss the matter with me, who informed me that I was quite mistaken in my Employ that I had no Business to Indent for any Quantity of Materials that there was always the Company's Store and Ware-Houses ready to Deliver out any Material that was requisite for the Works; that all that was wanted of me was to tell the different Mestrys[1] what was to be done; that they then would acquaint the Banyans what proper Quantity of Materials was to be deliver'd out for the Work, I had laid out, that I was not answerable for any Material on the Works, that was the Buxy cannahs Business; and that no one single Article should be work'd up but what he was acquainted with in what manner and how it was used, and would then deliver out that Article accordingly and represent the Expence in his Account; that my Business was to walk round the Works and point out what was to be done; that I was not to be concern'd in any thing else as I had not given the Company a Security of a vast Sum of Money which the Buxy canna had. I had nothing to say in answer to this, than that I was indeed mistaken in my Employ, but I could not help reflecting that I had spent 6 or 7 years to very little purpose in not making my self acquainted with the Business of an Engineer; though I must Confess I never Imagined my self as Acting in that Station in Bengall, having been nothing more than an Overseer under the Buxey, whose Orders and Directions have been Obey'd, when mine have been refused.[2] . . .

One thing more I must beg Leave to trouble your Patience with and that is that when you order'd Mr. Frankland to get as many Bricklayers as he could he did muster up 40 or 50 as before we had only 17 or 18 these Came to the Works regularly though not near a number sufficient for the Business in hand, at the same time a Mestry came and inform'd me that he would bring two hundred Bricklayers if I wanted them, allowing him a short time to collect them: I answer'd him very well and Desired him to procure them, he then brought a number on the Works and encreased them daily to one Hundred, in which time they received pay with the rest of the People, at the Expiration of the month the Mestry himself went for his Pay, but was Denied, for what reason I cannot conceive, unless it was his being put on the Works by me, the result of this will be the Mestry will go off, and his People of Consequence will

[1] A *mistrī* is a head artificer.

[2] Captain Barker then proceeds to dilate at length on his own opinion of the duties and responsibilities of an engineer.

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follow, so that from not having a number near sufficient, we shall have still less. I could not help remarking at this time, being at a Gentleman's House and counting more Bricklayers on his Verander than we had at Work on the Bastion, that the Buxey who had such Authority made very little use of it; in not being able to Collect Bricklayers, for so material a Work when private Gentlemen can fit up their Houses with such Ease; though I must Confess that the Buxey canna's Employ is a Business of such large Extent, that I am surprized how any one Gentleman can go through it and do the Company Justice.

After what I have said above, I must now Honourable Sir and Sirs humbly beg Leave to acquaint you, that as I have had no Concern in the Accounts of this Work, I do not Conceive my self answerable for any exceeding Expence, which it may have risen to; nor do I think my self necessary in Case of any Default as I have not been treated as an Engineer; and to avoid troubling your Honour &c. with a second Letter, I now humbly beg leave that as soon as the Works in Hand are finish'd to resign an Employ which has been so disagreeable, difficult and detrimental to me, in depriving me the Honour of Conducting the Honourable Company's Artillery in the Field: this I should have requested before, had not the Exigincies of the times seemed to have required my Duty in this Station. . . .

MR. FRANKLAND'S MINUTE CONCERNING CAPTAIN BARKER'S LETTER.

June 20.—Mr. Frankland having perused Captain Barker's Letter begs leave to assure the Board, that whatever Regulations Captain Barker has endeavoured to make and has come to his Knowledge he has with the Approbation of the Governour done his utmost as far as his Authority would permit to see them put in Execution . . . as contain'd in Captain Barker's Paper of Regulations . . . excepting the Method of paying them [the Cooleys]. . . . If the Cooleys and People employ'd on the Works have been guilty of any Errors or idled away their time, I hope I shall not lay under any Blame as I have always esteem'd that Branch under the Inspection of Captain Barker . . . as to the Inconveniences Captain Barker mentions he met with in receiving Materials that were not necessary, and the not receiving those that were . . . I am very sorry he did not consider a little the Times and the Situation we were then in when these Works were carrying on, when there was hardly an Inhabitant in the Place much less Shops and Markets . . . and I assure you Gentlemen that . . . I was obliged to send Money as far as Keerpye, Hurrypaul and many other adjacent Aurungs to procure them. . . . I am extreamly sorry that after all the Care and pains I have taken to procure Materials at a time when hardly any thing was to be got I should be liable to Blame for one Sortment coming a little before another for though I am sensible it was my duty yet I cannot help thinking that our having our Ditch in tolerable readiness all round our Fort by the time the Nabob came down upon us which was so soon after our retaking the Place as the beginning of February as it then really was, though has been since made much larger deserves rather Commendation than Blame though I will take no

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Merit from Captain Barker further than procuring the Men and Materials. . . . I will beg leave to conclude this long Minute with a Request that Captain Barker may be sent for and desired to point out before you Gentlemen with proper Proofs in what points consistent with my Duty to [my] Honourable Employers, or with what Authority I have here, I have any wise deviated from that duty so as to be the Cause of those difficulties in carrying on the Works as Captain Barker complains of not only to you Gentlemen, but as I am inform'd to many others. . . .

ORDERED the Committee of Fortifications to take Captain Barker's Letter, and the Buxeys Minute under Consideration and point out to the Board such Regulations as they esteem necessary for preventing the Evils complain'd of by Captain Barker in future.

Mr. Cruttenden's Letter about His Houses.

June 27.—Edward Holden Cruttenden Esq[r] sends in a Letter to the Board concerning his houses pulled down since the Retaking of Fort William, for an Esplanade

ORDERED his Letter[1] to be enter'd and the Secretary to acquaint him, that before levelling of the Houses reported as necessary to be pulled down, The Board appointed impartial and indifferent Persons to examine them and report their Value, at which Estimates they are ready to discharge the Amount of Mr. Cruttenden's Houses.

Magazine ready to receive Powder.

The Magazine being finish'd and ready for the Reception of Powder

ORDERED the Military Store Keeper to unlade the *Speedwell* of that Article, and keep it in the Magazine. . . .

A Further Protest by Mr. Cruttenden.

July 4.—Edward Holden Cruttenden Esq[r] sends in another Letter[2] to the Board concerning the Valuation of the Houses

ORDERED it be enter'd. . . .

[1] In his letter Cruttenden claims 16,000 Madras rupees for his own house, and 13,500 for that inhabited by the 'late Mr. Edward Eyre.' He admits that his own house was damaged by fire, but, as that was done in the Company's interest, he does not consider he should suffer thereby.

[2] In this second letter Cruttenden states that the house inhabited by Eyre was but slightly damaged, and that 300 rupees would have put it in good condition. He

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Proceedings of the Committee of Fortifications laid before the Board.

The Committee for Fortifications lay before the Board their Proceedings on the Subject of Captain Barker's Letter, which being read and approv'd of

ORDERED it to be enter'd.

Captain Barker his Letter to the Board under date the 13th Instant [Ultimo] being Referr'd to the Committee of Fortifications for their Report thereon they propose and recommend to the Board . . . that the most ablest Invalids and Pensioners paid by the Company be Employ'd at the different Places where Works are carried on to see that every Labourer is constantly at Work and to Report their Numbers . . . that the Labourers be obliged throughout the Year to come to their Works half an hour after Sun Rise and to remain at Work untill two Hours before Sun Sett . . . that there be Indents made by the Engineer for such Materials as are wanted. . . . As to Mr. Barker's Complaint that the Works have not been regularly supply'd with the several Materials he has Indented for it must be consider'd for some Time after our Reestablishment the Country People did not set down to their several Employments therefore most of the Materials as were wanted were obliged to be sought for without the Country that on the Committee's being appointed they immediately made Enquiry how and in what manner several Materials could be contracted for or purchased on the most cheapest Terms and have received Reply's from Dacca and Ballasore . . . and in their opinion the several Articles . . . are at too extravagant prices they likewise advertized to . . . to contract for Materials and particularly . . . a number of Bricks . . . which no one would undertake to sett about making untill the rainy Season was over they also had Masters of Chunam brought them . . . the Extravagant Price of which made them drop all thoughts of then contracting as sufficient Quantity's could be supply'd for the carrying on the Works absolutely necessary without waiting the Arrival of Mr. Brohier.

Captain Brohier's Proposals for Building a Citadel.

July 25.—Captain John Brohier[1] having taken a Cursory Survey of the Place, and fixed upon a Plan of Works to be executed for its present Security, till those of a larger Compass can be finish'd, now attends the Board, and having taken his Seat agreeable to

admits that his own was much damaged; but the warehouses, outhouses, water-side rooms, and veranda were standing, and it ought to have fetched more, exclusive of the ground, which he values at 5,000 rupees. He states that, at the present valuation, he is a loser by £2,283 15s., but that he is willing to submit the case to arbitration.

[1] Brohier arrived in the *Marlborough* at the beginning of July (see extract 314).

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the Honourable Company's Orders, delivers a Letter with his Remarks and Proposals for building a Citadel to the Southward of the old Dock[1] which Letter being attentively read,

ORDERED it be enter'd after this Consultation.

EXTRACT FROM CAPTAIN BROHIER'S LETTER.

The Works I propose to erect with your Approbation are to form an Hexagon as a Citadel to the Town, from the old Dock southwards. . . . As most of the Apartments in the Remains of the Old Fort are demolish'd they must be rebuilt in the Citadel, with the Military and Civil Store Houses, Magazines and Bombproof Lodgments requisite in time of Siege, with proper Warfs and Stairs to the Waterside, and other needful Works.

Valuation of Cruttenden's Houses settled.

August 4.—Edward Holden Cruttenden Esq[r] . . . desires an Answer to his former Addresses concerning his own and Mr. Eyre's House.

Messrs. Becher and Collet who were appointed to survey the Houses then levell'd, inform the Board they took the following Method in valuing of them they calculated to the best of their Judgments what it would cost to put them in the same Repair they were in before the Loss of the Settlement and deducted that Sum from what they knew Mr. Cruttenden had sold the Houses for, after which they subtracted 25 per Cent: as reasonable diminution in the Value of Buildings at that Juncture, The Nabob being then on his March to Calcutta, and the News of a French War just receiv'd.

The Board approving the Method above mention'd in estimating the Worth of Houses at that Juncture cannot consent to allow Mr. Cruttenden any more for Mr. Eyre's House than the Valuation affix'd by the Appraisors; but as the burning of his own house by our people is publickly known to be matter of Fact, they think some consideration should be made him on that Account, as it was done to preserve the Factory from being overlook'd by the Enemy and annoy'd with their small Arms.

AGREED he be paid 12,000 Arcot Rupees for that house, and

ORDERED the Secretary to acquaint him of our determination.

[1] This proposal was subsequently abandoned in favour of a fort on the existing site.

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313. Minchin Dismissed the Service.

Extract from General Letter to Bengal from the Court of Directors, August 3, 1757. Paragraph 27. Bengal Despatches, Vol. I.

27. Wee do hereby direct that your late Commandant Captain Minchin be for his late Behaviour dismissed the Companys Service and sent home by one of the first Conveyances.

314. Arrival of Brohier.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, August 20, 1757. Paragraphs 30 and 31. Bengal Letters received, Vol. III.

30. Captain Broyere arriv'd in the *Malbro* the Beginning of last Month and has delivered us a Letter purporting to erect a Citadel to the Southward of the old Dock as soon as possible for the Defence of the River and the Company's Effects, and when that is compleated and executed to fortify the white Town with a Glacis Wells Ditch &c[a]. That your Honours may better judge of this Plan we transmit you a Copy of his Letter enclosed. It has been twice read and considered in Council and Captain Broyere has been desired to survey the Ground and deliver a Plan of the Citadel he intends building as soon as possible, which he has promised. In the mean time we have orderd all the Houses to the Southward of the Old Dock to be survey'd and valued by six Appraisers, Three on Behalf of the Company and three to be chosen by the Proprietor of every house survey'd; an Umpire to be elected to determine the Valuation if they cant agree among themselves. By the foregoing method we flatter ourselves all Cause of Complaint will be obviated.

31. Having mentiond that by the foregoing Method we hope all Cause of Complaint will be obviated; It will not be improper to explain that part of our Letter by informing your Honours that Mr. Edward Holden Cruttenden soon after his Return from the Coast addressd us on the Subject of his Houses levelld after the retaking of Calcutta for an Esplanade to the Factory complaining of the low valuation set on his Dwelling House and that of the late Edward Eyre Esqr. Deceased as likewise of the Irregularity of doing [it], the Proprietors having never been informd of the

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Resolution of Council nor desird to chuse Persons on their own Behalf to be present at the Appraisement which is customary in such like Cases. To this we replyd by our Secretary that those Houses had been surveyd and estimated by four impartial Gentlemen at which Valuation we were willing to pay Mr. Cruttenden for his Houses. This reply not being satisfactory he sent in another Letter to the Board repeating his Complaints of the Irregularity of the Appraisement and further setting forth that his own Dwelling House had been burnt by the Party of Soldiers and Volunteers who were posted there on their being withdrawn to prevent the Enemy from getting possession of and annoying the Fort from the Top Terrasses. This being a known Fact we esteemed it but reasonable to make him an Allowance for it and have agreed to pay him 12000 Rupees for that House but cannot encrease the Valuation of the other as the method taken by the Gentlemen appointed to value the Houses then designed to be levelld appears to us very proper and Satisfactory which is enter'd at large on the Face of our Consultation of the 4th Instant.

315. The Old Fort to be kept in Repair.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, August 22, 1757. Range V., Vol. XXIX.

Captain Brohier sends in a Letter to the Board recommending the keeping of the present Fort in Repair till the new Works are in some forwardness.

Ordered his Letter to be enter'd and that the Buxey do keep the Works in Repair.

To the Honourable Roger Drake, President and Governour of Fort William.

Honourable Sir,

The Works now repairing having been erected for the Security of the Fort, I conceive it is improper to let them go to Ruin, before we have our new Citadel in some Forwardness.

I am, Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

J. Brohier.

Calcutta,
22nd August, 1757.

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316. Clive complains that no Steps have been taken to fortify Calcutta.

Extract from a Letter from Messrs. Clive, Watts, and Macket, Muxadavad, September 6, 1757, to the President and Council of Fort William. Orme Collection, O.V., 170.

It is with great concern that we understand no steps are yet taken towards fortifying Calcutta, we must beg leave to represent to you the absolute necessity of commencing the fortifications while every circumstance is so favourable for it, and though you may not immediately be able to fix on what plan to go, yet all materials should be collected, and necessary preparations made to execute without loss of time, whatever plan may be determined on.

317. The Select Committee ask that Ships of War in need of Repairs may be sent to Calcutta as a Protection.

Proceedings of the Bengal Select Committee. Fort William, Wednesday, September 14, 1757. Orme Collection, O.V., 170.

The departure of the Squadron as we are informed being determined on from this Place, And the Consequence of having this Settlement without any Ships of War (at a time when our Fortifications are not capable of any defence against an European Enemy, and when an Effort from the French to Resettle in these Provinces may reasonably [be] Expected) appearing to the Committee of bad Consequence to the Companys Affairs.

Agreed We apply to Admiral Pocock and Request of him to order such of the Ships expected out of Europe this Season as are not necessitated to proceed to Bombay for Repairs to come down to Bengal for Refreshments which we are of opinion will be a great Security to this Settlement and no Inconvenience to the Junction of the Fleet early next Season on the Coast.

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318. Minor Repairs in September, 1757.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, September 26, 1757. *Range I., Vol. XXIX.*

The Crane at the Factory Stairs having been burnt down at the retaking of the Settlement, and the Wall round the Burial Ground being down in many places

Ordered the Buxey to repair them.

319. Clearing the Site of the New Fort.[1]

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, October 17, 1757. *Range I., Vol. XXIX.*

As the Gunge must be removed from the Place it stands in at present to build the Citadel, and make an Esplanade towards the River, and the Spot near the Nulla[2] on this side of Surman's Gardens being a very proper and convenient Situation.

Ordered the Zemidar to endeavour to procure that Place, and remove the Gunge thither, and as a number of Houses belonging to the Natives must be levell'd and removed for the abovemention'd purpose,

Ordered the Zemidar to give them ground in Similea, and other places to rebuild their houses on, and that he make them a small Allowance for the Charge and Expence of removing and rebuilding their Habitations.

320. Plaisted's Memorial.[3]

The Memorial of Bartholomew Plaisted to the Honourable the Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Honourable United East India Company. Read in Court, November 2, 1757. *Miscellaneous Letters received,* 1757, *Vol. XL.*

Humbly Sheweth That in July 1745 your Memorialist being Captain and Super Cargo of a Ship called the *Kent* quited that

[1] Brohier, having abandoned his first proposal, now intends to build the new fort on its present site; to do this it was necessary to move the Govindpur *ganj*, or market, further south.

[2] Tolly's Nulla, as it is now called.

[3] Bartholomew Plaisted, having been suspended by the Council, obtained leave to return to England on the *London*, at the end of 1756, and vindicate himself (see Extract 209). His memorial on this occasion was printed and published. Two copies of it are to be found in the British Museum.

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Employ to Accept of the post of Surveyor at Calcutta in Your Honour's Service at the desire of the then Buxy but that not being a sufficient Maintenance he Accepted of the Command of the *Northesk* a Ship of 600 Tuns which was a more profitable Employ.

That in September 1746 the News of Madrass being taken arriving just as Your Memorialist was ready to sail Mr. Forster the Governor in whose service he was insisted and prevail'd with Your Memorialist to stay on Shore as Engineer Admiral Griffin having given his Advice that Calcutta ought to be put in a Posture of Defence.

That Your Memorialist was accordingly appointed Engineer in January 1746-7 with a Salary of 120 Madrass Rupees per month and his former Post of Surveyor at 60 making nearly the Sum required by him of 2000 Rupees per Annum but which was far Short of what the Command of the *Northesk* was worth.

That about February 1746-7 Your Memorialist laid down a plan for fortifying Fort William at an Easy Expence and in a short Time, by Adding four new Bastions and digging a Ditch of 60 feet Broad round Fort William which would not have cost more than 20,000 Rupees but this proposal met with a violent Opposition from Messrs Bellamy and Kempe and their Friends who endeavour'd to turn it into Ridicule under the name of the MUD SCHEME because he proposed to face with Turf instead of which, Capt. Hamilton in August 1747 proposed to Surround a great part of the town with Pallisadoes at an Expence of 50,000 Rupees which was Accordingly Executed of all which Pallisadoes in five Years Time there was not one Left whereas Your Memorialist is fully perswaded that if his Scheme had been Accepted it would have been of very great Service; Your Memorialist begs leave likewise to Observe that Capt. Hamiltons Scheme for erecting Pallisadoes was allow'd to be enter'd on Consultation that a Letter from Your Memorialist which was a protest against was not allowed the same privilege.

That in May 1747 Your Memorialist delivered a Letter to Your President and Council at Calcutta against some Unwarrantable Proceedings of the Buxy's Bannian the Consequence of which was that he was turned out of his Post of Surveyor to make Room for Mr. Charles Hampton.

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That Notwithstanding such Dismission when Major Mosman came out and it was necessary to take a plan of Calcutta which ought to have been the business of the New Surveyor Your Memorialist performed it which took him up Seven Months the Extent of Calcutta being Very large which Plan is now in the India House.

That the ill treatment which Your Memorialist met with at Calcutta obliged him in the Year 1750 to come to England with the View of Soliciting Justice and on his presenting his Memorial to this Honourable Court met with a Candid Hearing and a Determination in his favour as will appear more fully from the Minutes of the Court on that Occasion.

That in Consequence of the Courts Express Orders and relying on their Protection Your Memorialist drew up a Letter or Plan for preventing abuses in the Buxy Canna little imagining at that time it would prove his distruction.

That altho' the Expences incurr'd by Your Memorialist with the loss of his Time and Salary was an enormous loss in his small Fortune Yet he was so far from asking any Reparation at that time that he Chearfully bore up under the Loss and placing his Confidence in the Protection of this Honourable Court so fully expressed in their General Letter or Order to their Servants abroad he did in consequence thereof immediately set out on his Return to Calcutta.

But how little these orders availed Your Memorialist dearly experienced on his Arrival there, the President and Council refusing to pay Obedience to the Said Orders instead of which a most Violent Attack was made about his plan on the Buxy Canna order'd by this Honourable Court to be put in Execution; but, altho' Your Memorialist was under the difficulty of defending himself before Gentlemen who were both party, Judge, and Jury, yet he sufficiently repelled the Attack, prov'd the goodness and fitness of his plan and after about two Months contest Your Memorialist was admitted to his former post of Surveyor and Engineer, but the plan of the Buxy Canna was not put into Execution till about a month or two before Your Memorialist left Calcutta, nor, was the Attack the only one he Sustain'd having encounter'd one much more dangerous and which was very near proving fatal to

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his Life from Mr. Mc Gwire the Afternoon of the day of his Arrival the truth of which being confirmed by a tryal on Record where the Judgment was given on Mr. Mc Gwires own Confession cannot possibly be now disputed, how the depositions of Your Memorialists own Witnesses and even the Trial itself happens not to be sent home he cannot Account for, being so contrary to the peremptory Orders of this Honourable Court to search thoroughly into this Affair and to make a Report thereof.

The Consequence of this Assault on Your Memorialist was a Violent Fit of Sickness for Several Months which deprived him of the use of his Limbs and put his Life in the most imminent Danger (as fully appears by his Memorial lately addressed to this Honourable Court) and Occasion'd him a second Voyage to England during which time the small Fortune he had left in Calcutta has been entirely or nearly destroyed so that he had better have lost three thousand pounds than to have prosecuted or applyed for Justice against Mr Mc Gwire, notwithstanding the Verdict obtain'd against that Gentleman fully Justify'd Your Memorialist's proceedings as to the great Injuries done him.

Your Memorialist is ready to submit his Conduct to the Strictest Enquiry that your Honours may think proper to make into it Whether he has ever failed in his Integrity, Diligence, or Zeal for the Company's Service nor indeed has he during the whole Time been so much as charged by the Gentlemen in Power or any of his greatest Enemies with a single Instance of the Contrary.

Wherefore Your Memorialist as he has always placed his Confidence in the Justice and Candor of this Honourable Court for Redress He now fully trusts that he shall have no Occasion to repent of his having been obstinately Just to the Honourable Company whilst two Voyages to England to Sollicit Justice at an uncommon Expence and the Late unhappy Catastrophe at Calcutta have reduced him from an Easy Fortune to so low a Condition that he cannot now call a shilling his own: Your Memorialist therefore throws himself wholely on Your Honours Justice and Generosity and refers himself entirely to You to grant him such Relief as to Your Honours in Your great Wisdom shall seem Meet.

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321. THE COURT ADHERE TO THEIR PREVIOUS ORDERS ABOUT FORTIFICATIONS.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, November 11, 1757. *Paragraph* 41. *Bengal Despatches, Vol. I.*

We writt you a short Letter under Date of the 4th of May last by the Bombay Ships to advise you of our having appointed Mr. Mace our Engineer for the Presidency of Bengal and giving some Directions for the constructing propper Works at Fort William, wee see no reason for deviating therefrom on the contrary the Permission obtained from the Nabob and some other circumstances seeming to favour the Plan you are to proceed thereon agreeable to the said Letter a Copy of which as likewise of Capt. Mace's Instructions wee send by this conveyance altho' wee hope that Gentleman and the Originals will have reached you long before this can come to hand.

322. AMICHAND'S BILL.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, November 14, 1757. *Range I., Vol. XXIX.*

Omichund sends in a Bill for the Houses level'd on our return to Calcutta for an Esplanade to Fort William amounting to Arcot Rupees 6700.

AGREED the President do pay it out of the Cash.

323. CHURCH AND CHURCHYARD TO BE REPAIRED.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, November 17, 1757. *Range I., Vol. XXIX.*

The Reverend Mr. Northcotte Chaplain sends in a Letter complaining of the ill Repair and Inconveniences of the Church &c[a].

ORDER'D . . . that Captain Brohier do put the Church and Church Yard in proper Repair, and that the Secretary do acquaint Mr. Northcotte he may appoint his own Clerk Sexton and Undertaker.

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324. Brohier alters his Choice of the Site of the New Fort.

Extract from Abstract of General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 10, 1758. *Coast and Bay Abstracts, Vol. VI.*

112. . . . Citadel, Captain Brohier having altered his choice of the spot for it to Govindpore but few of the houses valued in Consultation will require levelling, all the Natives have been removed thence and will be paid for their Brick houses on the most equitable valuation the Inhabitants of thatched ones will be considered for the trouble and expence of moving and allowed Ground in other parts.

325. The Select Committee Report that the Works are being carried on vigorously.

Extract from a Letter from the Select Committee at Fort William to Robert Clive and William Watts, January 28, 1758. *Bengal Select Committee Consultations. Orme Collection, O.*, 170.

Our Works are now Carryed on with great vigor and dispatch, many Thousand people being at Work. And You may be Assured We shall Not be wanting in exerting our Utmost for getting them finished as Soon as it can possibly be done, being very Sensible of the Consequences that may be felt from our present defenceless Scituation and of the importance of Bengal to our employers.

Now We are upon this Subject it is incumbent on Us to inform You, Mr. Pocock leaves the place to-morrow and designs to Sail for the Coast a few days after; The Weak Condition of our Fortifications and the Small Number of Troops left in Garrison are Circumstances that Ought to be attended to, We hope therefore that Colonel Clive will not make a longer Stay up the Country than is Absolutely necessary for settling the Nabob's Affairs, but return to Calcutta the Moment that is done. . . .

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326. The Court give Directions about Buildings and appoint Plaisted Surveyor of Works.

Extracts from General Letters from the Court to Bengal. London, March 3, *Paragraphs* 54-59, 76, 114-117, 155-157, *and March* 8, *Paragraph* 16, *Bengal Despatches, Vol I.*, 1758.

54. We were so particular in our Directions with respect to rendering Fort William Defensible in our Letter of the 4th May last which went out with our Engineer Mr. Mace that we have nothing further to add thereto than only by way of Hint to recommend to you and Mr. Maces consideration whether the Works now subsisting by being Strengthened and Improved as much as their Nature and Situation will admit of may not render them sufficiently Defencible and Tenable without erecting a New Fort or Cittadel, the Expence of which will be immense and no Benefit result from it probably during this French War, should you and Mr. Mace be of this Opinion the Expence of a New Fort will be saved and no fresh Cause for Alarm be given the Moors Government which notwithstanding the late Treaty it might occasion.

56. In the several Buildings it may be necessary to erect for the general Purposes of the Settlement you are to be as frugal as possible. The Council Roome and three or four adjoining ones are to be Handsome tho' not expensive, all other Apartments and Buildings are to have as little bestowed upon them as may be consistent with the Uses they are intended for.

57. You must take care that the Apartments for our Junior Servants are not upon the Ground Floor and in Damp Scituations as has been generally the case and fatal to many of them, let them be Plain but convenient and as contiguous to the General Scene of Business and the respective Places of their Employs as may be.

58. Wee are told that the Building formerly made use of as a Theatre may with a little Expense be converted into a Church or Publick Place of Worship, as it was Built by the voluntary Contribution of the Inhabitants at Calcutta wee think there can be no difficulty in getting it freely applyed to the before-mentioned Purpose especially when wee authorize you to fitt it up decently at the Companys Expense as wee hereby do.

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59. If you should not be fully in possession again of Bulramgurry wee would have a Look out house at least Preserved and a Flagg hoisted there as usual least the French should take Possession of it, and when Affairs are settled in Bengal it must then become an Object of your most serious consideration as a Place that will contribute much to the enlargement of the Investment.

76. Captain Thomas Fenwick who had your permission to come to England on Furlo' for the reestablishing his Health after a dangerous Fit of illness now returns to his Duty and Station as Captain of a Company upon the Bengal Establishment, and you are to observe his Absence is not to be a prejudice to his Rank.

114. Surveyor of the Works is an Officer we now appoint to have Cognizance of the following matters, with the Collector he will be so far connected as to be under his Orders in the Measurement of Ground for building or planting as already set forth, and no Measurement but through him shall be allowed, It must be his Province to take care no Encroachments are made on the publick Roads, no Structures Erected that in the Opinion of our Engineer will obstruct the Guns of your Fortifications or be a dangerous Shelter to an Enemy for no Consideration must induce you to suffer such Evils again.

115. All Public Buildings, Repairs, Enclosures, &c. must be under his immediate Directions, the Orders are to be issued to m from your Board, he is to indent for all Materials to the Buxey who is to deliver you his Monthly Accounts, such Accounts as Value and Quantitys being first approved and Undersigned by the Surveyour and where he dissents his Reasons are to be Assigned; The Payment of all Workmen is still to dwell with the Buxey, but they are first to be Mustered by the Surveyour and these Muster Rolls Signed must be delivered to the Board as Vouchers to the Buxey's Accounts, or you are not to pass them; the Person whom we deem in all respects most equal to this Trust is Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted, he is accordingly entertained Surveyour of your Works and he takes Passage on one of these Ships.

116. Our late determination in regard to the Impropriety of

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permitting Mr. Plaisted to return to Bengal and our Appointment of him so soon after to the Post of Surveyour of the Works upon our present plan of Regulations may seem to require some little Explanation of our Motives thereto.

117. Though he was absent from, yet being unhappily greatly Involved with many other Sufferers in the general Calamity of that Settlement, Our Compassion hath in great degree effaced our Resentment in regard to his late haughty behaviour which had occasioned it, his Character in point of Integrity being unimpeached, we entertain hopes of a very differing behaviour in other respects in future, should we be disappointed therein and he behave in the Execution of his Office with Insolence or Indecency you are to suspend him from our Service, but during his good Behaviour therein, we do direct that he be paid the Annual Salary of Current Rupees One Thousand Eight hundred in full of all Perquisites, Emoluments and Allowances whatever, but remember that you are able to justify yourselves in all Instances where Severites are exercised towards him or others. . . .

155. If these several Improvements take place and your Regulations of Customs are Established, there will be a necessity of enclosing your Town, to prevent Clandestine Practices, and this leads us to mention the Ditch dug in the Moratta Troubles for your Defence but never compleated, we are told there remains about a Mile to bring it to the River and the finishing this will be a sufficient Security, but as the Work will greatly strengthen Calcutta against an Indian Enemy, we will hope that the Inhabitants may be brought to bear a Share of the Expence; however if the whole burthen should fall upon us, and upon a Computation the Sum appears too heavy, in such Case transmit us the Estimates and forbear until you hear from Us.

156. Let there be an exact measurement made and sent us of the Territory lately Annexed, Encourage all Useful People to reside among you, and be not lavish of the Ground in Building and Gardening, allow only what may be convenient and if such a Reform is judged right in the Town of Calcutta and a new Measurement necessary make the Regulations immediately, for former Allowances, Encroachments or Indulgences must be no Rule now,

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157. Since the foregoing we have been informed that by cutting the Ditch from Dum Dum to Perrins Garden it would encircle Calcutta, and render your Settlement very strong, this we mention for your notice.

March 8, 1758.—We see no reason for altering our sentiments with respect to the fortifications to be constructed at Fort William since we writ to you on the 4th May last by our Engineer Mr. Mace, who, in several conversations with the proper Committee here, is fully apprised thereof. . . .

327. Proceedings as to Buildings from May to December, 1758.

Extracts from Bengal Select Committee Consultations, May 29, *June* 2, *June* 17 *and July* 4. *Range A., Vol. II. Also from Bengal Public Consultations, Range I., Vol. XXX., June* 5, *June* 22, *July* 3, *October* 9 *and* 23, *November* 9, *November* 21, *and December* 23, 1758.

Dock to be made.

May 29.—Colonel Clive informs the Committee that Mr. Pocock at his departure represented to him the necessity of having a dock in Bengal for the Reception of his Majestys Ships in case the Squadron should winter here, and as he thinks the Expence of making such a dock would be greatly overbalanced by the advantages resulting from having the Squadron refit at Bengal instead of Bombay, by which means they would have it in their Power to return much earlier to the Coast he hopes further the Committee will immediately order a Survey to be made of the Spot most proper to make a dock at and give directions for it's being begun and compleated as soon as it possibly can be done.

The Committee being of the same opinion with regard to the advantage and convenience of having a dock in Bengal fit for the reception of any of his Majesty's ships in India

Ordered Captain Brohier, the Master and Deputy master Attendant give us their opinion if a dock can be expeditiously made, the properest situation for such a Work and the Expence it would amount to.

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June 2.—Captain Brohier, Master and Deputy Master Attendant now attended the Committee and acquaint them that conformable to their orders they have surveyed the River above and below Calcutta and that it is their opinion the fittest place to make a dock in for the Reception of his Majesty's Ships is at Surman's Garden or thereabouts, as the River above the Town is very shallow in several places and would for that reason endanger the loss or damage of the ships going up or coming down

ORDERED Captain Brohier to prepare the materials directly for making the said Dock and that he do begin upon it as soon as ever the season admit of it.

June 5.—The Select Committee acquaint the Board that Admiral Pocock had represented to Colonel Clive the great Utility of building a Dock in Bengal fit for the Reception of any of his Majesty's Ships that might require refitting And as the Advantages of having the Squadron come to Bengal during the northerly Monsoons instead of going to Bombay were very apparent They had given Directions for Materials to be provided and everything got in Readiness to begin upon the Dock as soon as the Season would admit of it, Which they hoped the Board would approve of

The Board being convinced of the Utility of having such a Dock, Approved of the orders given by the Select Committee.

Court House to be used as Laboratory.

June 17.—Captain Jennings having represented that it will be necessary to have a house taken for the laboratory and for keeping the Military Stores in, there being no places in the fort fit for that service

AGREED that the House commonly called the Court House be appropriated to that use, it being esteemed the most proper for it, that the Company continue the present rent of it to the Church Wardens for the use of the Charity Stock, and that they be charg'd with the rent of another house for holding Courts and keeping the Records of the Mayors Court.

ORDERED the Secretary to write to the Mayor and inform him of our design to take the Court House and request him to hire

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some other place for the business of the Court and charge the Company with the Rent.

Fascine Batteries to be erected.

As it will not be practicable to keep our fortifications in sufficient readiness to resist the French if they should make an Attempt upon Bengal this Season, and as it is uncertain how soon they may make that Attempt, the Committee took into consideration what would be the most effectual method to annoy an Enemys fleet and prevent their advancing up to Calcutta in case they arrived in the river, Captains Brohier and Wedderburn, Messrs. McDonald, Smith and Scott being sent for were consulted upon this occasion, and it was unanimously agreed that fascine batteries erected in proper places down the river, and served with heavy Cannon, would annoy their fleet and prevent their advancing higher up till they had master'd or silenc'd those batteries, and if three or four were erected at different places must infallibly destroy or disable some of the ships before they reached the Town, after which the fire boats, sunken Vessels and Chains would be of use in throwing such of the ships as passed the batteries into confusion and if properly managed might burn or destroy them.

RESOLVED therefore that three or four batteries be erected at different places down the River and mounted with heavy Cannon.

House to be purchased for the Publick Offices.

June 22.—There being at present no proper places for the publick Offices from which Circumstances many Inconveniences arise in carrying on the Business of the Settlement and as it will be proper likewise to have a Room to hold our Councils in contiguous to the Secretarys and Accomptants Offices

AGREED the Dwelling house of the late Mr. Richard Court be purchased for the Honourable Company and appropriated to the above uses.

Old Fort to be turned into Barracks.

July 3.—The Arrival of a french Fleet with large Reinforcements of Military on the Coast and the uncertainty of the next

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Attempts making it necessary to be provided in the best manner we are able for our defence in Case they shoud come to Bengal which cannot be done but by having all our Military in Calcutta And as there are no Barracks for the Soldiers in the place and great inconveniences experienc'd from their being dispersd att different Houses; the impossibility of preventing their committing great disorders and destroying themselves with spirituous Liquors when so dispers'd and the necessity of keeping them together for their discipline

It is AGREED for those reasons to remove the Honourable Companys goods from the old Factory that it may be converted into Barracks for the Military till proper Barracks are built within the new Works. And that the Export and Import Warehouse Keepers do endeavour to hire or purchase such Godowns or Houses as they esteem most convenient and proper for carrying on the Business of their respective Offices and for keeping the Honourable Companys Cloths and Imports in.

Places for River Batteries.

July 4.—Captain Brohier sends in his Report of the places in the River which on survey he found most proper to Erect Batteries upon to prevent an enemys fleet coming in

ORDERED it to be entered after this days proceedings.[1]

Mace detained in Bombay.

October 9.—Received a Letter from Mr. J. Mace dated at Bombay 6th September informing us that his close Attendance and Application to remedy the wretched Condition of that Place and put it in a proper posture of Defence had hinderd him from addressing us before.

October 23.—AGREED We write thereby [by the *Hardwick*] to the Honourable Richard Bourchier Esqr. and acknowledge the receipt of their letters under date 4th March 29th April 17th May 17th August and 2d September 1758 that their reasons for detaining Mr. Mace We observe which might have prov'd of fatal consequence to this Settlement had not the Gentlemen at

[1] There is no copy of the report as stated.

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Madrass sent Mr. Brohier to erect such fortifications as might secure us against the attempts of the French who we had great reason to fear woud arrive daily.

Admiral Watson in Watts's House.

November 9.—Captain Barton and Mr. Thomas Cooke send in a letter to the Board advising them they have survey'd the repairs to Mr. Watts House for the reception of Admiral Watson on the retaking of Calcutta which they Value at three hundred rupees.

ORDER'D the Buxy to pay the same.

Plaisted appointed Surveyor of the Works.

November 21.—Mr. Plaisted being arriv'd

AGREED he be appointed Surveyor of the Works agreeable to the Companys Directions.

Report of Broad Cloth Godown.

December 23.—The Import Warehouse Keeper reports that the Godown in which the Broad Cloth is now kept is very much impair'd by white Ants and a great deal of the Cloth damag'd he therefore desires it may be survey'd and repair'd.

ORDERED the Surveyor to examine and report the Condition of the Godowns with the Estimate of repairing it.

328. REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS AS TO BUILDINGS IN 1758.

Extracts from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 31, 1758. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. IV.*

127. A Convenient House being much wanted for the publick Offices of this Settlement and for holding of Councils We have bought the dwelling House of the late Mr. Richard Court for the Sum of Current Rupees 8700 for the abovementioned Purposes. We likewise purchased Mr. Drake's House for the Sum of 12000 Rupees to be used as an Import Warehouse when the Old Fort was Clearing out to be converted into Barracks for the Military, Our Reasons at full for this Step your Honors will find entered in our Consultations of the 3d. July.

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128. Captain Barton having represented to the Board that the Company were at a great Expence for Godowns to keep the Marine Stores in, which might be saved by purchasing the House now the Property of Mr. Boddam which had very spacious Warehouses and was Commodiously situated for his Use, We agreed to buy it for the Company and paid him Mr. Boddam 12000 Arcot Rupees for the House and Godowns. We have likewise permitted Captain Barton to build a Range of Godowns to the Northward of that House, to be made use of as Banksauls for Ship's Stores when refitting, and to be let out to Country Shipping when not in use for the Company.

175. We have ordered Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted to act as Surveyor of the Company's Works agreeable to Your Commands, but in order to avoid any Cause of Disgust or Contest with our Engineer, we have directed him, not to interfere in any Shape with the Fortification of the Settlement, or the new Works now erecting under the Inspection of Captain Brohier, as it is our Opinion It could not be your Intention that the Post of Surveyor should extend to those Works unless in a manner Subordinate to the Engineer.

329. Proceedings with regard to Buildings in 1759.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations, January 4, *January* 8, *February* 1, *March* 29, *May* 31, *June* 7 *and* 14, *August* 13, *August* 16, *September* 6, *September* 10 *and* 17, *September* 20, *October* 4, *October* 8 *and* 22, *and November* 1, 1759. *Range I., Vol. XXXI.*

Purchase of Holwell's House.

January 4.—Warehouses being wanted for the use of the Custom House and Mr. Holwells house and Godowns being thought convenient for the purpose he tenders it to the Company for Arcot Rupees 10,000.

Agreed that Messrs. Boddam and Plaisted do survey it and make report to the Board of their Estimation of it.

January 8.—Messrs. Boddam and Plaisted deliver in a letter informing us that they have survey'd Mr. Holwells House and think it worth nine thousand Arcot Rupees to any private person

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but as it is Contiguous to a Compound belonging to the Company they are of Opinion it is more Valuable to them than any one else.

Mr. Holwell consenting to sell it to the Company for Nine thousand five hundred Arcot Rupees

AGREED that we purchase it for that Sum.

Survey of Houses Ordered.

February 1.—Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted sends in a letter representing that he is in want of a place to carry on the Branch of Business under his Charge and that he examined several parts of the Town and can pitch on none so properly situated as the House and Compound commonly known by the name of Tom Merricks

ORDER'D that the Buxy Master Attendant and Surveyor do survey the House and Compound he mentions and if they prove fitt for the purpose that they do hire the same and

AGREED that the same Gentlemen do survey the Warehouses and Offices made use of for an Export Warehouse.

TO THE HONOURABLE ROBERT CLIVE, ESQ^{r}., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR, &C^{a}., COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

The Business of Reparation being this day given me in Charge and made a separate Branch from Captain Brohier as Ingineer I am at present destitute of any place to carry on that Business in particular a Carpenters yard and offices and it having been intimated to me to search for one I have accordingly examind several parts of the Town and can pitch on none so properly situated as the House and Compound commonly known by the Name of (Tom Merricks) it being near the Center of the Town and of Business and the publick Offices and by being situated near the Water Side the Expence of the Coolie hire will be greatly lessend all which is submitted to your Honour &c^{as}. Approbation.

Being with the Greatest Respect,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED.

February 1st, 1759.

Perrins House and Gardens purchased.

March 29.—AGREED that the Engineer and Surveyor be directed to Survey the Powder Mills and report to the Board what repairs be necessary.

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It being necessary for the person who makes the Gunpowder to Reside on the Spot, and Ground about it being much wanted for carrying on the Business

And the House, Gardens, Ground &c. Appurtenances called Perrins being offered to Sale at 2000 Arcot Rupees

AGREED it be purchased for that Sum.

Powder Mills blown up.

May 31.—The Powder Mills at Perrins Gardens and the Godowns adjacent to them unhappily taking fire on the 26th Instant were blown up—by which Misfortune One hundred and fifty Barrels of Gunpowder were destroyed.

Proposed Dock.

June 7.—Captain Barton for himself and others proposes to the Board digging a Dock and Agrees that after it is Compleated if it be Agreeable to the Company for them to take it into their Hands, it shall be made Over to them on their paying the Charges of Building it and the Intrist Arising on the Money laid out. Captain Barton proposing to dig a Channel from the River into the Great Tank and converting it into a Dock

ORDERED that the Spot be Surveyed by Messrs. Brohier and Plaisted and that they report to the Board whether any Inconveniences will Arise to the Place or the Inhabitants from Captain Barton's Scheme being carried into Execution.

ORDERED the Surveyor do immediately sett about clearing the Ditch as far as the first Bridge, that Boats coming to the Custom House may have a safe Place to lay in. . . .

June 14.—Messrs. Brohier and Plaisted send in their Answer to the request of the Board concerning Captain Barton's proposal of digging a Dock.

ORDERED their Letter be entered after this Days proceedings. . . .

TO CHARLES MANNINGHAM, ESQ^R., AND COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

In consequence of your Orders signified to us by Mr. Secretary Smith for surveying and reporting to you our Opinion whether any Material Inconveniency's will arrive to the Town or Inhabitants from a Channel being dug

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between the Fort and the Master Attendants House and converting the Great Tank into a Dock, we take the Liberty to Acquaint the Board that provided it is executed in a Skillfull and proper manner we conceive no material Inconvenience can arrive to the Town or Inhabitants if the Place is to remain Open in the manner it is at present.

We are respectfully,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most Obedient humble Servants,
JOHN BROHIER.
BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED,
Surveyor.

CALCUTTA,
The 14th of June, 1759.

Perrins Gardens to be Enclosed.

August 13.—Captain Brohier delivers in a Letter representing that the Powder now made by the Pestals and Mortars is much better and in greater Quantity's than formerly it is Absolutely necessary to build Rooms for sifting and drying it and to Enclose the Garden of Perrins which is all open to the Northward, with an Estimate of the Charge Amounting to Current Rupees 3255.

In consequence of the above Letter

ORDERED that the Military Storekeeper the Engineer and the Commanding Officer of the Artillery Do make an Experiment of the Powder and report to the Board their sentiments thereon. . . .

An Ensign's Commission to Thomas Fenwick.[1]

August 16.—The President acquaints the board that he has thought proper to grant Ensigns Commissions to . . . Mr. Thomas Fenwick dated May the 19th, 1759. . . .

Gray's House Purchased for an Hospital.

September 6.—It being represented to the Board that the Hospital is not large enough for the Reception of the sick and Mr. Gray's House being Offer'd to Us for Current Rupees 15000 which being esteemed reasonable

AGREED we purchase the same and that the Amount be paid out of the Cash.

[1] This must be the son of Captain Fenwick.

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Church Surveyed.

September 10.—The Reverend Mr. Butler sends in a Letter requesting we will Order Mr. Plaisted to survey the Church as the Roof is much decayed and in danger of falling.

Enlargement of the Powder Works.

It being represented to Us that it will be necessary to enlarge the Ground for the Powder Works and there being some houses of the Natives Adjoining Perrins House which it will be necessary to pull down for the same

ORDERD Messrs. Brohier and Plaisted to survey them and report their Value to the Board.

September 17.—Messrs. Brohier and Plaisted send in a Letter informing Us they have examined the Houses and Other Buildings round the Powder works, that to purchase the Houses to the Southward and levell the Ground will cost the Company about 40,000 Rupees they therefore propose to Us to purchase the Ground to the Northward belonging to Busindassceat as the Expence will not be so great the Ground being Already levelled.

ORDER'D their Letter be entered and

AGREED We purchase the Spot pointed out by those Gentlemen.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Agreeable to your order under date the 11th Instant we have particularly examined the Houses and Other Buildings round the Powder Works and after duly considering all Circumstances we apprehend to do justice to the Proprietors it will Cost the Honourable Company 30,000 Rupees barely to purchase them out and 10,000 more at least to Levell the Ground this Consideration makes us humbly Apprehend a spot clear of all encumbrances will be more Eligible, and therefore we beg leave to represent that a Garden about a quarter of a Mile beyond the Ditch where there is about 80 Begahs of Ground belonging to Busindassceat ready levelled will answer the Intentions of the Board by Erecting new Works on the Principles of those already in use at Perrin's which after being Compleated the Utensils that the Honourable Company have already been at the Expence of may be removed to the new Works which will in no way Impede the business in Hand, further we beg leave to remark that there

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are already Inclosures of Brick Work which with some Repairs are well Adapted to the present Purpose.

We are, most Respectfully,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most Obedient Humble Servants,
JOHN BROHIER.
BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED.

CALCUTTA,
September the 13th, 1759.

Survey of the Company's Buildings.

September 20.—ORDER'D that the Engineer Surveyor and Master Attendant do Survey the Company's Buildings in Calcutta and estimate their present value.

Mat Bungalows to be Built.

October 4.—The Junior Servants and Officers being greatly distressed for Accommodations on account of a number of Houses which have been destroyed for the Fortifications &c.

AGREED we direct the surveyor to build Matt Bunguloes on the long Row and Cottah Godowns in the Factory.

Report of the Company's Buildings.

October 8.—Messrs. Brohier, Plaisted, and Scott deliver in their Report on the Company's buildings

ORDER'D it be enter'd . . .

TO THE HONOURABLE ROBERT CLIVE, ESQ^r, PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, &C., COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Conformable to your Orders of the 21st Ultimo We have maturely Considered (after the necessary Enquiry) into the state of the Honourable Company's Buildings as they stood on the return of the Inhabitants to Calcutta in January 1757.

By Calcutta Buildings we mean at present the Old Fort and it's interior Building which we Estimate to have been worth at that Time Current Rupees	120.000
The Hospital	12.000
The Stables	4.000
The Goal	7.000
Salt Petre Godowns	7.000

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Cutcherry	1.500
Catwal Prison	1.000
Bridges two	2.000
Chints Printer's Houses	6.000
Elephant Ground	1.500
Magazine	6.925
Dockhead Slip and Buildings	7.000
Cradle destroyed	
Moorings none	
New Consultation Room destroyed	
New Cottah Godowns	25.000
New Works	21.099

The Head of Calcutta Towns are at a Loss to know what is meant by it.

The above Estimate being as near as we possibly can judge is submitted to your Honours &c. judgment being with the greatest Respect

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most Obedient Humble Servants,

J. BROHIER.
A. SCOTT.
B. PLAISTED.

CALCUTTA,
6th October, 1759.

Report of Vishṇudās Leṭh's Garden.

October 22.—Messrs. Brohier and Plaisted send in a Letter to the Board concerning the Gardens of Bussendass Seat which they were instructed to survey

ORDERED their Letter to be enter'd.

TO THE HONOURABLE ROBERT CLIVE, PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, &C., COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Pursuant to your Orders of the 5th Instant we have endeavour'd to sett a Value on the Gardens belonging to Bussendass Seat's family, which besides great number of Fruit Trees have now standing 752 Covids of Brick Wall of (6) covids high on a medium in consideration of which we Value One Containing 66 Begais at 2500 Arcot Rupees and the Other adjoining to it containing 16 Begais at 500 Arcot Rupees this last belongs to Petumberseat [Pītāmbar Seṭh] Only, and may be bought and Alienated, but the former we beg leave to represent is Appropriated for Religious Uses but the property is between Bussendass Seats 2 Sons and Petumber Seat in equal Moiety's but by the Poverty of the Family has been mortgaged to Omichund with this special Indulgence that the said Garden while Only tenanted Bussendass Seats

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ffamily may still enjoy the benefit of it but if sold or Alienated Omichund will then seize on the produce which will be the Utter Ruin of the remains of Bussendass Seat's family, We therefore from the discourse we have had with the Proprietors beg leave to represent that if the same is rented of them on a Long lease at the rate of 250 Arcot Rupees per Year which we judge they will consent to and the Other containing 16 Begais purchased at 500 Arcot Rupees or Rented at 50 per Annum that as things are Circumstanced it will be preserving an Annual Income to a Family who have nothing else to depend on, and be equally Cheap and Beneficial to the Honourable Company which we Submitt to your Honour &c. for their determination being with the Greatest Respect

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most Obedient Humble Servants,

J. BROHIER.
B. PLAISTED.

CALCUTTA,
18*th October*, 1759.

Plaisted to pull down Obstructions.

November 1.—ORDERED publick Notice be given that we have Authorized Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted to Pull down all Buildings that Obstruct the Streets or Publick Roads.

330. NO FURLOUGH ALLOWANCES.

Extract from Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, November 23, 1759. *Paragraph* 49. *Bengal Despatches, Vol. I.*

We are astonished at the Allowances to Messrs. McGwire and Fenwick who were suffered by you to come to England upon their private Affairs; and therefore we positively order that they refund the Sums you paid them from their Departure to the Return to their Stations and now we are upon the Subject we shall tell you that unless very good reasons are assigned we will in future allow neither Rank or Standing to our Civil or Military Servants that may return with your Permission.

331. REPORT TO THE COURT OF BUILDINGS IN 1759.

Extracts from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, December 29, 1759. *Paragraphs* 69, 81, 83, *and* 84. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. IV.*

69. Your Orders respecting the Method of Collecting the Customs have been duly comply'd with and a Sea and Land Custom Master

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appointed with proper directions for carrying on the Business of their Different departments. Mr. Richard Becher had the Charge of the Sea Customs conformable to your Commands of the 3d of March 1758. It being necessary for him to have a house and Offices in some convenient place Where goods might be landed without risque we purchased for that purpose Mr. Holwell's house contiguous to the Old Ditch[1] which we order'd to be clear'd out for the reception of Boats and came to a Resolution that all goods brought by Water Carriage should first be enter'd at that Custom house and After the Boats were properly examin'd the Custom Master might permit the Goods to be landed at either of the three following Gauts as might be most convenient for the proprietors namely

The Gaut commonly called Jacksons to the Northward

The Gaut near the Old ffort in the Centre and

The Gaut called Mingha Bibbys to the Southward. . . .

81. In the Month of June the Powder Works at Perrins Garden by an Accident were blown up and entirely destroyed. As We were too much confin'd at that place for want of Ground and laying under many Inconveniences on Account of a number of Straw houses being very near those Works We have now determined to erect what new Works We propose having for making Powder on the other Side of the Ditch near Perrin's and for that purpose have rented a convenient Spot of Ground enclos'd by a brick Wall belonging to Petumberseat at the rate of two hundred and fifty Rupees per Annum. . . .

83. You were last year advised of our having purchased the Dwelling houses of Messrs. Court, Drake and Boddam, the former for holding Consultations in and for Offices, The Second for an Import Warehouse and the Last for a Marine house. We must acquaint you of our having made the further purchase of Dr. Grays House for a Hospital at Current Rupees 14000 and that We are about buying the Dwelling house of Mr. Carvallo for the Residence of Lieutenant Colonel Eyre Coote conformable to your Command of the 23d March last, We hope you will not disapprove of our making these purchases as We judge it much more for the Com-

[1] i.e., the creek which ran up the line of Hasting's Street, along the south side of the burying-ground.

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pany's Interest than paying House rent as they will always fetch nearly the Sums paid for them.

84. There being a very great Scarcity of houses in the Settlement, insufficient even for the present inhabitants, We have directed Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted our Surveyor to Build Slight Appartments on the Cottah Godowns and on the Long row in the old ffactory for the reception of the Officers of Colonel Cootes battalion, and for the Reception of as many Writers as can conveniently be accommodated there the Expence of this Work will be but trifling as the appartments are to be cover'd with Thatch and there will be but very little brick Work.

332. Proceedings as to Buildings in January, 1760.

Extracts from Bengal Public Proceedings. Fort William, January 11, *January* 14 *and* 28, *and January* 31, 1760. *Range I., Vol. XXXII.*

Mr. Finley ordered to desist from Building.

January 11.—The Collector of the Revenues lays before the Board a report made to him by the Surveyor, from which it appears that the Buildings Mr. Richard Finley is erecting encroach on the Publick and will prove a Nuisance

Order'd therefore the Secretary do write to him to desist from building or that it will be demolished by the Surveyor. . . .

January 14.—Agreed Mr. Sumner Collector of the Revenues do examine the Building Mr. Finley has erected, and report to Us whether it incommodes the Road or whether its Built on his Own Ground. . . .

The Powder Works.

Mr. Martin Costelly sends in a Letter to the Board representing the Great Danger the Company's Powder Works and Powder are exposed to of being Destroyed by fire by their being surrounded with Straw houses.

Order'd therefore that he takes possession of the Spot pitched upon some time since by Messrs. Brohier and Plaisted and that he as soon as possible removes the Utensils . . . and Materials to that place and in the mean time the proprietors of the Straw houses be directed to Cover the Thatches with Mudd, and

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that the President of the Quorum of Zemindars do see it executed.

January 28.—Mr. Martin Costelly sends in a List of Buildings necessary to be Erected for the New Powder Works at Patumberseats Garden.

The Board taking into consideration the ruinous Expence this Work will be attended with if carried on according to Mr. Costelly's Plan

RESOLVED that a stop be immediately put to removing the Materials of the Powder Works and that the most Effectual Method be taken for Securing the Works at Perrins Garden.

Mr. ffinley's Building.

Mr. Sumner the Collector lays before the Board a report of the Measurement of Mr. Richard ffinleys Ground, by which it appearing that he has no Title to any land to the Westward of his dwelling House

ORDER'D that the Building he has erected be demolished by the Surveyor.

Fenwick Compensated for his Garden.

Captain Fenwick sends in a Letter requesting the Board will make him some equivalent for a large Garden which has been taken and Destroyed to make room for the New Works,

January 31.—The Board taking into Consideration Captain Fenwick's Letter dated the 28th Instant and it appearing that he has received no Consideration for the Garden therein mentioned which was taken possession of to make Room for the New Works

AGREED unanimously that he be paid fifteen hundred Arcot Rupees as an Equivalent for the Buildings he had erected and the other Charges he had been at, and that another Spot of Ground be allowed him in some Other Place and that the Collector do put him in Possession there of.

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333. The Council report that the Powder Works remain at Perrin's.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 3, 1760. Bengal Letters received, Vol. IV.

6. We have before advised you of our intention of removing the Powder Works from Perrin's Garden to a spot belonging to Petumber Seat and had accordingly given the necessary Orders for this being carried into execution, But Mr. Martin Costelly who has for some time past been employ'd in making the Powder having the 28th Ultimo laid before us a list of several new buildings which would be necessary for carrying on this business by which it appears that changing the spot would be attended with immense expence, and we finding likewise from the report of the Engineer and Officer of Artillery enter'd after that days Consultation that the Powder does not turn out according to our expectations, We came to a resolution to put an immediate stop to the new buildings and directed Mr. Costelly to continue the making the Powder at Perrin's Gardens. And at the same time determined to use every precaution in our power for the security of it there.

334. Proceedings as to Buildings for the Rest of the Year 1760.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 14, March 13, March 24, March 27, July 17, August 11, September 15 and 22, October 12 and 20, and November 12, 1760. Rauge I., Vol. XXXII.

Some of the Bungaloes finished.

February 14.—Mr. Plaisted sends in a Letter advising us of 14 of the Bungeloes being ready and that the rest will be compleated in 15 or 20 days.

Apartments in the Warehouses made into Barracks.

March 13.—The Board taking into consideration the Report of the Town Major of there being in great want of Barracks for the

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Military and adverting to the Report of the Surveyor of the Works with respect to the New Apartments built on the Cottah,

AGREED they be made use of as Barracks and that the Town Major do take possession of them for that purpose.

A Chapel to be made by the Fort Gate.

March 24.—Taking into Consideration the Unwholesomeness and dampness of the Church now made use of as well as the Injustice of detaining it from the Portuguese,

ORDER'D the Surveyor to examine the remains of the Gateway in the Old Fort and report to us what it will Cost to put it in tolerable repair and make it fit for a Chapel till such time as the Chapel design'd to be built in the New ffort be erected.

March 27.—The Surveyor of the Works delivers in a Report of the Expence of repairing the Gateway of the ffort for a Chapel.

ORDER'D his Letter to be enter'd and the Buxey to direct Him to set about the repairs immediately.

TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN ZEPHANIAH HOLWELL, ESQ^{r}, PRESIDENT, &C^{ta}, COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

According to the nearest Estimate I judge the Converting the Building over the Gate into a Chappell may be done for about 2500 Arcot Rupees.

I am, with respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most Obedient Servant,
BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED.

March 27th, 1760.

July 17.—The Surveyor reporting to the Board that the Chappel which was order'd to be prepar'd is now finished and ready for Divine Service.[1]

AGREED that the Church belonging to the Portugueze be restor'd to them and that the Secretary do advise Padre Caitan the head Priest of our resolution.

Fenwick cannot refund his Furlough Pay.

August 11.—Captain Fenwick sends in a Letter to the Board representing his inability to comply with the Order in the General

[1] Mr. Hyde's suggestion that the chapel was consecrated on St. John Baptist's Day, June 24, seems to be negatived by this extract.

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Letter dated 23d November of refunding the pay he received during the time he was in England upon furlough;

ORDER'D it be enter'd after this Consultation.

TO THE HONOURABLE HENRY VAN SITTART, ESQ^r., &C^a., COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

In consequence of an Order from your Sub Secretary, I am directed to refund the pay I received for the time I was in Europe.

It is notorious I could not have accepted the indulgence of a Furlough had these been the Conditions, and probably is the first Instance of an Officer's being call'd upon in such a Case; very few of our Profession being in Circumstances to comply with an after reckoning of this kind.

I will not Gentlemen take up your time further than to assure you, I am not capacitated (*sic*) (as my Affairs are condition'd in Life and likely to continue so) to Comply with the Demand; Conscious, Your Honor &c^a upon enquiry will discover me to be above Artifice where a Redintegration of favor depends on Money, or whither I have any other means of avoiding the Worst on this Occasion than through your Intercession with the Directors and present protection by your Indulgence being with Respect

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most Obedient and most humble Servant,

THOMAS FENWICK.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 11th August, 1760.

Charles O'Hara deceased.

September 15.—Mr. Charles O'Hara Deceased of a Fever.

The Board esteem it unnecessary to appoint another Servant to Patna in Mr. OHara's room there being a sufficient Number there already to conduct the Business.

Laboratory removed to the Old Fort.

September 22.—The Owners of the House used for the Laboratory send in their Bill for House rent from the 1st February 1757 to the 31st January 1760, 3 Years, at the Rate of Arcot Rupees 900 per Annum, amounting to Arcot Rupees 2700.

ORDERED their Bill be paid by the Military Store Keeper and that as the Laboratory is now removed to the Old Fort, the House be deliver'd back to the Owners.

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Clive's House.

The Sea Custom Master reports to the Board that he has pitched upon the Dwelling House belonging to Huzzroomull lately possess'd by Colonel Clive, as the most proper for a Custom House.

ORDERED it be rented at the Rate of ..... on the Honourable Company's Account for a Custom House.

Plaisted ordered to Bombay.

October 13.—ORDER'D the Secretary to inform Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted of the Honourable Company's having been pleased to appoint him to Bombay, and to direct his preparing to proceed thither as soon as possible.

October 20.—AGREED we write to the President and Council of Bombay advising . . . That the Company having appointed Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted on their Establishment, we have directed him to get in Readiness to proceed to his Appointment as soon as possible.

November 12.—Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted being appointed to the Bombay Establishment.

Mr. Edward Handle is appointed Surveyor in his room.

335. GARDEN HOUSE BOUGHT FOR THE GOVERNOR.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, January 5, 1761. *Range I., Vol. XXIII.*

There being no Garden House for the Refreshment of the Governor when the Load of Business will permit him to retire, and we being Convinced the Honourable Company will have no Objection to so reasonable an Indulgence,

AGREED we purchase the Garden House formerly belonging to Mr. Frankland for that use, at the Price of 10,000 Arcot Rupees which we esteem it is very well worth.[1]

[1] The title deeds of the present Loretto Convent in Middleton Row show that it was the garden house of Mr. Vansittart. This extract shows that it belonged to Frankland before it came to Vansittart. It is shown in Orme's plan of the territory of Calcutta in 1757. The garden belonged to Mr. Frankland as early as 1749 (see extract 220). The same house was afterwards occupied by Sir Elijah Impey and by Bishop Heber.

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336. Report of Buildings in 1760.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, January 16, 1761. Bengal Letters received, Vol. V.

97. The House formerly purchased for a Sea Custom house as mentioned in the 69 Paragraph of an Address of the 29th December 1759 suffering much by the last rains, and it being calculated the necessary repairs would amount to more than the building deserved, we thought it more for the Companys Interest to dispose of it. We accordingly put it up to outcry and sold it for Current Rupees 8051, and in place of it we hired the House belonging to Huzrumull, which Collonel Clive possess'd, as it answers in all respects for the Custom House.

98. The house purchased of Mr. Carvalho being the most Convenient for the Governor, Mr. Vansittart now possesses it, and there being great Occasion for a House for the Commanding Officer of our Troops in Bengall, near the Fort and Barracks we purchased that belonging to Mr. Holmes as being extremely proper for that purpose for Current Rupees 20,000 the lowest price stipulated by that Gentleman to his Attorneys in Bengall.

99. And there being a Garden House belonging to Mr. Frankland extremely convenient for the refreshment of the Governor, when the Multiplicity of his Business will permit him to leave the Town, we have thought it far from a Superfluous Charge to procure it on that account for the sum of Arcot Rupees 10,000. . . .

133. Mr. Charles O'Hara died of a lingering Illness the 11th September on Account of which he was obliged to leave his Station at Patna.

143. Two Gentlemen were superseded by this [Captain Martin Yorke's] promotion Captain Fenwick and Captain Fischer, the former by your Appointment to have the command of the 2d Company It was imagined you intended he Shou'd rise no higher, nor indeed will his advanced age admit of his attending to the Duties of a commanding Officer. . . .

167. Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted was in Compliance to your Commands order'd to hold himself ready to proceed to Bombay, and accordingly gave up the office of Surveyor and Mr. Edward Handle was appointed in his Stead.

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168. But being afterwards advised that Mr. Plaisted's Assistance would be very useful in compleating the Surveys of the River and Coasts near Chittagong, we have Employ'd him on that Service, esteeming it very Essential and having represented to the President and Council at Bombay, that he shall proceed to them after his Return.

169. The Infirmities which Captain Fenwick's Age Subjects him to, rendring him incapable of enduring the Fatigues with which your Military Service is attended, we recommend it to you to make a provision for him suitable to his long Services.

337. Minor Repairs.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, Monday, March 9, 1761. *Range I., Vol. XXXIII.*

The Buxey lays before the Board an Estimate of the Expence it will require to repair the Bridges at Perrings and Cow Cross, and the Straw Buildings for making the Gun Powder.

Order'd the Surveyor to repair the said Bridges and Straw Buildings.

338. The Court acquiesce in Fenwick's Supersession.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, March 13, 1761. *Paragraph* 102. *Bengal Despatches, Vol. II.*

102. If Captain Thomas Fenwick who Commands one of the Companys of Military at your Presidency is not able on Account of his Age[1] and Infirmitys to undergo the Fatigue of Military Service We do agree in consideration thereof and of his many Years Services that his next Officer do Officiate for him and that Captain Fenwicks full Pay and the Emoluments of his Company be continued to him during Life. . . .

339. Proceedings as to Buildings in 1761.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, April 27, *July* 27, *August* 3 *and* 24, 1761. *Range I., Vol. XXXIII.*

Increased Rent for the Court House Refused.

April 27.—The Chaplains and Church Wardens send in a Letter in which they request a larger Rent for the Court House, for the

[1] Fenwick now must have been about fifty-seven years of age, as he was appointed a writer in 1721, when he was probably seventeen years old.

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Benefit of the Charity Fund, as it at present only yields Current Rupees 30 per Month, much below its real Worth.

As the Charges Repairs of the Court House from February 1758, to March 1761 have stood the Company in Current Rupees 3075.9.6 exclusive of the Monthly Rent of 30 Rupees the Board cannot consent to allowing the Charity Fund a larger Rent for the Court House

ORDER'D therefore the Secretary to inform the Chaplains and Church Wardens of our Resolution, and their Letter to be enter'd after this Consultation.

TO THE HONOURABLE HENRY VAN SITTART, ESQ[r], PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, &c[a], COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

The Court House was built in the Presidency of Mr. Bourchier[1] by Legacies, Benefactions and Subscriptions, for a Charity School and Apartments for Masters.

Former Trustees finding it unnecessary to keep so spacious a Building for the Reception of a Master and a few Children only, thought proper to let it out for the use of the Mayor's Court &c[a] still however, till the Time of the late Troubles reserving one Wing for that good purpose for which the whole was Originally intended.

At present there are but thirty Current Rupees per Month receiv'd for that large and commodious Edifice, which Sum is evidently much below its real worth, and as it is now found that a much greater Number of Children than formerly may be admitted upon the Charity Foundation, it becomes the Duty of the Trustees to remove the Masters and Scholars into it or at least to demand a just and full Rent for it. If therefore you have any further Occasion for it to hold Court &c[a] it is requested that you will be pleased to appoint proper Persons to Survey it and determine its real Value and to order them to deliver in their Reports to you that the Design of the Founders may be answer'd as far as possible.

We are, with Respect,
Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient Humble Servants,
HENRY BUTLER.
JOHN CAPE.
CULLING SMITH,
Churchwarden.

CALCUTTA,
April 27, 1761.

[1] Bourchier was a member of Council at the time, but he was never President.

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Godown to be Surveyed.

July 27.—There being a want of Godowns for the Company's Export Goods, those in the Old Fort being taken up in accommodating the Troops, and a large Godown being Offer'd near the Export Warehouse

ORDER'D the Surveyor to survey it and report its Condition to the Board with its Value per Month.

August 3.—The Surveyor reports the Godown he was order'd last Council Day to survey is fit for a Warehouse and is Worth 80 Arcot Rupees per Month

ORDER'D it be taken at 80 Rupees per Month. . . .

Plaisted continues at Chittagong.

August 24.—Receiv'd a Letter from the Chief and Council at Chittagong . . . informing us . . . Mr. Plaisted intends to prosecute his Surveys as soon as the North East Monsoon sets in.[1]

340. REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS IN 1761.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, November 12, 1761. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. V.*

84 The Engineer acquaints us he is much afraid he shall not be able to send your Honours this Season the Plan of Fort William directed in the 146th Paragraph of your Commands of the 13th March by reason of the want of drawing Assistants . . . excepting this new Fort and the old Fort in the middle of the Town, We have no other Fortifications in Bengal unless the old Factory at Cossimbazar may be called so. . . .

131. In consequence to your directions communicated to us by Mr. Secretary James in his Letter of the 30th May 1760, We delivered Copies of the Instructions relative to the Transit of Venus to such Gentlemen here as were enclined to make the

[1] In a *Collection of Nautical Papers*, by A. Dalrymple, 1785, etc., fol., the following survey,s plans, and drawings are attributed to Plaisted: Plan and survey of the Coast of Chittagong in 1761, also of Khaut Colley in 1761; sketch of the Coast of Chittagong in 1761; instructions for the Coast of Chittagong, January 1, 1762; plan and survey of the Chittagong River in 1764.

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observation, We transmitted Copies also to all our Subordinates. The only reports we have received are, One from Mr. Plaisted taken at Chittagong and one from Mr. Magee taken here . . . but for want of proper Instruments We fear that they are not of a sufficient exactitude to be of any material use.

132. Finding Mr. Plaisted's Services very useful at Chittagong, in surveying the Creeks, Rivers Islands &c^{a} on that Coast, We venture to detain him still notwithstanding your appointment of him to Bombay judging his present Employ to be of great Importance.

341. The Court refuse to Pay for the Governor's Garden House.

Extracts from a Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 19, 1762. *Bengal Despatches, Vol. II.*

37. We repeat our Orders to the President and Council of Bombay to send without fail as soon as possible Mr. Mace to You according to Our original intentions. . . .

39. We shall depend upon Mr. Bartholomew Plaistead having proceeded to Bombay agreeable to the Orders in our Letter of the 1st April 1760 and to what you have mentioned in answer thereto in your letter of the 16th January 1761.

40. In our letter of the 13th of March last We took Notice and complained of the Expences We were charged with for extra Allowances for House Rent and the purchases of several others. . . . Whether the Renting the House lately possessed by Colonel Clive for a Custom House instead of the Old one you Sold for Current Rupees 8051 as being out of Repair was really necessary does not appear to Our satisfaction neither does your purchasing a House of Mr. Holmes Attorneys at the rate of Current Rupees 20,000 for the Commanding Officer of Our Troops which We think by much too large an addition to the Majors Allowances, but most certainly the purchasing Mr. Frankland's House for as you mention the Refreshment of the Governor when the Multiplicity of Business will permit him to leave the Town at the Expence of Arcot Rupees 10,000 is notwithstanding your allegation to the contrary a superfluous Charge and must as in reason it ought, be born by the

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Governor at his own private Expence this is the more necessary and reasonable since the noble appointments setled upon the Governor by our directions last Season which are intended to take in all Expences he may be put to for Convenience on the Companys Account. . . .

58. In consideration of Captain Thomas Fenwicks long Services, advanced Age and Infirmities We do agree that he be excused from any further Military duty but that however he do enjoy his Pay and Emoluments as Captain of the first Company and the said Company is to be Commanded during his Life by a Captain Lieutenant.

342. Proceedings as to Buildings in 1762.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, January 26, *March* 1, *May* 31, *July* 12 *and* 19, *August* 2, *and October* 11 *and* 18, 1762. *Range I., Vol. XXXIV.*

Repairs to the Hospital.

January 26.—The Surveyor sends in a Letter representing that the Hospital and Salt Petre Godown are in great want of repair and that unless they are repair'd he imagines they must fall this year. That if we chuse to have any repairs made he desires We will order 6000 Maunds of Chunam to be deliver'd to him.

Order'd [that] he [be] directed to put the Hospital in repair. That He survey the Salt Petre Godown and report to the board it's condition.

The Salt Petre Godown.

March 1.—The Surveyor reports to the board that he thinks the Salt Petre Godown ought to be pull'd down and rebuilt—an estimate of which he annexes to his report.

Agreed that the Salt Petre Godown be not repair'd as We do not esteem it proper to put the Company to any expence thereby as it is not above three or four Months at most in the Year that we have any Salt Petre in our Warehouse and for which in future We esteem it the cheapest method to hire Godowns until we have proper buildings in the New ffort.

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The Rice Storehouses.

He likewise sends in a Letter regarding the Spot fix'd upon for the removal of the rice Gollahs to, which he represents the Merchants think too small and likewise that it is overflown in the rains —That the raising of it and filling up the Tanks will cost a great Sum of Money he therefore desires our orders with regard to the removal of the Gollahs.

As Surman's Garden and the Ground adjacent is esteemed a good Situation for them and the Garden being offer'd us by Mr. Gray's Attorney for Arcot Rupees 3000

AGREED we purchase it and order the surveyor to remove the Gollahs which are at present nearest the new ffort thither immediately.

Council House to be repaired.

May 31.—The Surveyor acquaints the Board that the Council House appears to be in a bad Condition, and requests their Orders for making a general Survey.

ORDER'D the Secretary to give him Directions to rebuild the North Side of the Council House as it appears absolutely necessary.

Plantain Trees, Underwood, and Jungle to be cut down.

July 12.—The board being of Opinion that clearing the Town of all Plantain Trees, Underwood, or any other kind of Jungle, would be greatly conducive to the Healthiness of the Town, and of the Inhabitants

ORDER'D that the Surveyor be directed immediately to cut down all that Sort of Growth throughout the Town, and within the limits of the Moratta Ditch.

Plaisted allowed Captain's Batta while on Service.

July 19.—Mr. Plaisted having render'd the Company great Service since he was sent to Chittagong, and it being represented that the allowance we order'd for him while on Service was too small . . .

AGREED that Mr. Plaisted be allowed Captain's Batta whenever he may be on Service.

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Old Powder Mills to be repair'd.

August 2.—ORDER'D that Mr. William Smith the Powder Maker be directed to put the old Mills and Utensils immediately into Repair, and begin to make Powder, as soon as the Season will permit.

Hospital to be built with Fell Trees and Straw.[1]

October 11.—Finding great Inconveniency for Want of Room in our Hospital and from not having the Benefit of a free and open Air AGREED till such Time as the Hospitals can be built in the New Fort, that we build one near to Surmans with Fell Trees, and cover'd with Straw, under the Direction of Captain Green, upon the same Construction with those he has built at Ghyrotty, which are found to be extremely good and wholesome Lodgings.

Captain Fenwick's Letter of Thanks.

October 18.—Received a Letter from Captain Fenwicke at Luckypore dated 9th Instant, expressing his thankfulness for the Considerations bestowed on him by the Honourable the Court of Directors, and to those who have been instrumental in so humane a Determination.

343. VANSITTART PAYS FOR HIS GARDEN HOUSE.

Extract from a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, October 30, 1762. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. V.*

62. Your Honours have no doubt been acquainted long ago by the President and Council of Bombay, of the death of Mr. Mace whose loss is the more unlucky as Mr. Amphlett has been obliged by the very ill state of his health to resign the charge of the Works. . . .

65. Agreeable to your directions in the 40th paragraph of your Commands of the 19th February 1762 the President has paid the purchase Money of the Garden House, and the cost of the Out-houses built since . . .

[1] This order cannot have been carried out, as may be seen from extracts 359, 360, where we are told that, in 1766, the hospital was a temporary building in the old fort.

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81. Your directions in favour of Captain Fenwicke have been notified to him, and he begs leave to return you his humble thanks.

344. A Fragment by Orme on the Loss of Calcutta.

Extract describing Calcutta and Old Fort William, taken from a Paper entitled 'Fragment of the History of Bengal, composed by R. Orme in 1762, being intended for the Public before I began to compose the Story of Coromandel.' Orme Collection, India, VII., pp. 1794-1796.

The town of Calcutta extends 4 miles along the eastern bank of the river of Hughley in a curving line formed by the course of the river. The two extremities of this curve determine the limits of the Company's territory to the North and to the South; and Eastward these limits extend in no part more than a mile and a half from the bank of the river. In the midmost part of the curve the houses of the English inhabitants extend along the river nearly a mile and inland about 600 yards. In the center of these houses close on the bank of the river stood the fort. Where they ceased to the north began the habitations of the most considerable of the natives with their markets or Buzars. All the good buildings of this quarter which finishes to the north with the Company's territory are comprised within the same distance from the river as that which contains the English town, behind which as well as behind the whole of this northern quarter is a suburb of mud houses extending still farther eastward for half a mile, and inhabited by great multitudes of the common people. Where the English town ends to the Southward begins another continuation of houses which extends to the southern extremity of the Company's territory. Very few considerable families of the natives resided in this quarter, in which the number of inhabitants as well as houses were much less than in the suburbs already described. Orchards and gardens took up the greatest part of the rest of the Company's grounds.

When the Morattoes first invaded the province of Bengal in the year 1742 a rampart with a ditch were intended to be carried round the Company's territory. This work was too extensive to answer any service excepting that of calming the fears of the Indian inhabitants, but as they furnished the expense it was

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executed to the North and East of the town from which it was in some places a mile distant and to which it was of no defence as all to the South was open. The northern line of this intrenchment, called from the cause that produced it, the Morratoe ditch communicated with a rivulet that flowed into the river, and by this communication the ditch was supplied with water. At the mouth of the rivulet on the Southern side a narrow neck of land projected into the river and formed the Northern extremity of that Curve on which we have described Calcutta to be situated. As this spot of ground commanded a distant view of the river in two directions, to the North and to the South, a battery had been erected on it, which was just finished at the time of Allaverdikhan's demise, and which was the only work that could give rise to Serajah Dowlah's complaints or apprehensions of the increase of the fortifications of Calcutta.

The construction of the fort of Calcutta was as simple as it was contemptible. It was a square with 4 bastions of which the two to the Westward mounted each 8, and those to the Eastward 10 guns from 9 to 12 pounders. These defended 4 walls which discovered their weakness by the windows that were in some parts cut through them. The Southern wall had been choaked by a line of warehouses projecting beyond the bastions which rendered the guns of their flank quite useless. The weakness which these buildings added to that of the original construction of the fort was but poorly remedied by ten or twelve 3 pounders planted on the terrass. About 20 yards from the foot of the western wall was a line of the heaviest battering cannon on the very brink of the river, and this work was capable of making some resistance against ships. It was joined to the two bastions of the western side by two slender walls with each a gate in them. Notwithstanding the fort was without a ditch and had no other defences than those now described, no new ones were added, nor were the buildings which commanded the ramparts at the distance of 40 yards levelled, when the Colony were preparing to defend themselves against the Nabob.

Instead of defending the fort to extremity it was thought more practicable to prevent the enemy from approaching it. A battery of 2 eighteen pounders was raised at the distance of 200 yards

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from the fort in a broad and very long avenue opposite to the eastern gate; another of the same defence at the same distance to the Southward in a broad road which passed along the eastern side of the fort. At the spot in which this southern battery was situated began a deep ditch which continued westward to the river, and which was thought a sufficient security for the space it intersected. The two batteries communicated with each other by trenches and better [? water] supplied in the middle of their distance from each of them by a very large pond. To the North at 250 yards distance from the fort was erected another battery of 2 twelve pounders which commanded the principal streets of this quarter along the river. The disposition of the houses in this part of the town obstructed this northern redoubt from the sight of the fort as well as of the other two batteries, and did not admit of its communicating with the Eastern battery by an intrenchment. This was supplied by pallisading all the avenues which gave inlet between them.

345. PLAISTED'S ALLOWANCE AT MALACCA.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, February 7, 1763. Range I., Vol. XXXV.

Receiv'd two Letters from Chittagong dated the 25th and 27th Ultimo: The former enclosing Copy of a Letter from Mr. Plaisted to Mr. Rumbold respecting his Allowance before he set out in the Sloop order'd for the Streights of Malacca. . . .

ORDER'D . . . when we write next to Chittagong that we do acquaint them Mr. Plaisted will receive his usual Allowance during his Absence on this Trip.

346. THE RENT OF THE COURT HOUSE.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, March 7, 1763. Range I., Vol. XXXV.

The Church Wardens deliver'd in a bill for the rent of the Town house for one Year to the 31st December 1762 amounting to Current Rupees 2000[1]

ORDER'D it be discharg'd by the Buxey.

[1] This rent was increased to Rs. 4,000 in 1767 (see General Letter from Bengal to the Court, Fort William, December 10, 1767, paragraph 44).

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347. PLAISTED TO REMAIN IN BENGAL.

Extract from a Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, March 9, 1763.

84. We observe by your Letter of the 12th November 1761 that Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted was still employed at Chittagong, in surveying the Creeks, Rivers, Islands etc. on that Coast, where you judged his Service was of great importance, and it appearing from your Advices that there is a probability this place will prove very advantageous to the Company, We have come to a Resolution to countermand our former Orders for Mr. Plaisteds proceeding to Bombay, where we find he is not so much wanted as at your Settlement; He is therefore to continue in Bengal in Quality of Surveyor and an Assistant Engineer to Mr. Amphlett. That he may have the protection and Advantages in Trade enjoyed by our Covenant Servants, he is to be ranked upon your List as the youngest Factor, but he is not to rise any higher; his Allowance of 1800 Rupees a year is to be continued, to which is to be added the Salary and Appointments of a Factor. These Allowances are to be in full consideration for all Perquisites, Emoluments and Expectations whatsoever for his said several Stations.[1]

348. PROCEEDINGS AS TO BUILDINGS IN 1764.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, March 12, October 15, October 25, and November 12, 1764. Range I., Vol. XXXVII.

Mr. Hastings House purchased for the Nabob.

March 12.—As there will be a House wanted for the Nabobs Reception on his Arrival in Calcutta

AGREED Mr. Hastings which he now tenders to the Board for Arcot Rupees 16,000 be purchased for that purpose and that the Company's Surveyor be directed to fit it up.

[1] The reply to this is in a General Letter from Bengal to the Court, dated Fort William, December 19, 1763, paragraph 76: 'Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted has been advised of his Appointment and directed to remain at Chittagong where We still find him very useful in making Draughts, Surveys &cta.'

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New Council Room to be built.

October 15.—The present Council room being from its Situation greatly exposed to the heat of the Weather and from the Vicinity to the publick Office very ill calculated for conducting the Business of the Board with that privacy which is often requisite

It is AGREED to build a new Council room at a convenient Distance from the Offices and that it shall be done under the Inspection of Mr. Fortnom the Civil Architect.

Mr. Fortnom being accordingly called before the Board is ordered to prepare a Plan of such a Building for our Approbation.

October 25.—Mr. Fortnom the Civil Architect agreeable to the orders of the 15th Instant now lays before the Board a Plan for a New Council Room

The same being approved

ORDERED it be carried into execution as expeditiously as possible. . . .

Want of room in the Chapel.

November 12.—The Chaplains and Church Wardens send in a Letter representing that the Number of Inhabitants is so greatly encreased that there is not room in the Chappel for one half of them to attend Divine Service and therefore requesting We will direct the Church in the New Fort to be built with all Expedition.

349. CAPTAIN FENWICK GRANTED FURLOUGH.

Extract from a Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 15, 1765. *Bengal Despatches, Vol. II.*

80. By our Letter of the 19th February, 1762 we directed that Captain Fenwick should be excused any further Service, and receive the Pay of his Company, which was to be commanded by a Captain Lieutenant, And as you advise us he is desirous to have that pay continued to him, wherever he may chuse to Reside, He has our permission accordingly and you may let him Return to England if he requests it.

137. (Supplement) The friends of Thomas Fenwick having applied to us for leave for his coming to England to see his Family and afterwards to return to Bengal again; We have consented

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thereto, and you are to permit him to come to England accordingly upon a furlow.[1]

350. PLAISTED ASKS PERMISSION TO RISE IN THE SERVICE.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, March 11, 1765. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. VI., Paragraph* 37.

Mr. Plaisted has delivered in a Letter requesting We would recommend him to you for obtaining the same standing on the Establishment as he would have had, had he continued at Bombay, for the Time of his Appointment there in the Station of Factor; and that he might also afterwards rise in the Service in the usual Course. And as he has allways manifested great Attention and Assiduity in whatever branch he has been employed, We cannot but readily comply with his request, and hope he will meet with your Indulgence therein.[2]

351. PLAISTED'S APPOINTMENTS IN 1765.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, April 15, *and August* 15, 1765. *Range I., Vol. XXXVIII.*

Member of the Council at Chittagong.

April 15.—Mr. Plaisted's Ability's in the surveying Branch seeming to fix him properly at Chittagong

'AGREED he be appointed a Member of the Council[3] that he may receive the Benefits usually enjoyed by the Gentlemen of his Rank in the Service And

That We do accordingly write to the Factory thereof. . . .

[1] On April 18, 1763, Captain Thomas Fenwick asked the Council 'to procure from the Honourable Court of Directors a General Passport with established order to remit my Subsistence to England or wherever I may reside' (see Bengal Public Consultations of that date). A copy of Fenwick's letter was forwarded to the Court in a General Letter of the same date. On November 22, 1763, Mrs. Fenwick was permitted to take passage on the *Osterley* for Europe. On April 22, 1765, Edward Fenwick was appointed assistant at Midnapore Factory (see the Bengal Public Consultations of those dates).

[2] Plaisted's letter and the order upon it are found in the Bengal Public Consultations of March 11, 1765.

[3] The appointment was annulled on May 20, on a representation from Chittagong, in order that Plaisted might not supersede his senior in rank; he was, however, to retain the emoluments of the position in the Council.

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Plaisted to survey the Burdwan Province.

August 15.—Mr. Verelst represents to the Board that many material advantages may arise to the Burdwan Province from having a particular Survey taken of it, and requests We will take the same into Consideration, recommending Mr. Plaisted at the same time as a fit person for this Service, and intimating That he can for the present be very well spared from Chittagong

AGREED We write to Chittagong acquainting them with his Appointment and desiring they will direct Him to repair in consequence to Calcutta.

352. OBSERVATIONS BY THE COURT ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF 1764.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, December 24, 1765. *Bengal Despatches, Vol. III.*

29. We would have you postpone building the Church at your Presidency 'till the Accommodation for the Servants, Barracks for the Soldiers and every other Building of consequence is compleated.

30. We do not conceive the Propriety of erecting a new Council Room as the New Buildings in the Fort, where all the Company's Business is to be carried on must soon be built. The Objection you make to the present Room for its being contiguous to the Publick Offices appears very singular, as in Our Opinion it should be in the Centre of the Offices that recourse may be had to the Papers more readily.

33. We observe in your Consultation of the 11th March 1764 another House bought for the Nabob, we expect you give us your Reasons for this extraordinary Expence, and direct that you buy no more Houses for the Company as we suppose the Buildings in the New Fort will soon be ready.

353. PLAISTED NOT ALLOWED TO RISE IN THE SERVICE.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, February 19, 1766. *Paragraph* 47. *Bengal Despatches, Vol. III.*

With respect to Mr. Plaisted's Application and your recommendation for his having the same Standing on your Establish-

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ment in the Rank of Covenant Servants as he would have had from the time of our appointing him a Factor at Bombay and to rise in the Service in the usual Course, we cannot comply therewith as by our Letter of the 19th March 1763 he was appointed and fixed to be the youngest factor upon the Bengal List only that he might have the protection and advantages in Trade enjoyed by our Covenant Servants, however as we are sensible of his Merit in the Attention and Assiduity he has bestowed in the Stations he has been employed in We would have you give him all the reasonable Encouragement his Services deserve agreeable to his Situation in any other way than rising upon the List of Covenant Servants which as before observed We do not think proper to comply with especially as we are come to a Resolution that no Persons in a Military Capacity shall for the future be admitted upon the Civil List at Fort St. George.

354. Bad condition of the Old Hospital.

Extract from Mr. Fortnom's Letter in Bengal Public Consultations, Monday, March 3, 1766. Range I., Vol. XXXIX.

From the Nature of the post I have the Honor to hold (tho I have not been favored with particular Instructions) I look on it my Duty to acquaint you, That the Old Hospital Adjoining to the Head Surgeon's House is in so ruinous a Situation that it appears necessary to take it down to prevent its doing mischief. . . .

I beg leave to inform you that the House lately occupy'd by Mr. Gray is so much out of repair, that it will be necessary to rebuild the whole Virando and great part of the House. . . .

I also request you will favor me with a remittance to enable me to go on with the railing round the Old Esplanade, as I have advanced near 5000 Rupees on this Work. . . .

With respect to the repairs which Mr. Fortnom has represented to be necessary

Agreed before we come to any Resolution thereon, that he be directed to deliver into the Board an Estimate of the Expence of each Work to be undertaken. . . .

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355. Old Hospital and two Houses to be Sold.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations, Monday, March 31, 1766. *Range I., Vol. XXXIX.*

Letter from Mr. Fortnom the Civil Architect of the 10th Instant read, containing Estimates of the repairs of the several Buildings mentioned in his Letter to the Board of the 3rd Instant

AGREED that the Companys Old Hospital the small House for the Assistant Surgeon and the House lately occupied by Mr. Gray be sold. . . .

The Board defer passing Orders on the other parts of Mr. Fortnom's Letter untill the Engineer can prepare and deliver in the Plan of the Town and of the Drains he may think necessary to be made to keep it dry and passable at all times of the Year.

356. Proceedings as to Buildings in April and May, 1766.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations, April 7, 14, *and* 28, *May* 5 *and* 12, *and May* 22, 1766. *Range I., Vol. XXXIX.*

Enlargement of the Crane Pier.

April 7.—The Committee of Inspection now lay before us their Proceedings in Consequence of the above Appointment wherein they have proposed some Regulations respecting The Custom Masters' Employ to the Secretary's Department.

In Consequence whereof it is ORDERED that the Civil Architect do make a Survey of the Pier at the Fort and report to the Board an Estimate of the Expence of enlarging it Sufficiently for two Cranes to be erected upon it for the greater Convenience and dispatch of Shipping and landing of Merchandize. . . .

Plaisted to join De Gloss, the Surveyor of the Burdwan Province.

April 14.—Mr. Verelst acquaints the Board that he has directed Mr. Plaisted the Surveyor of the Burdwan province to procure and transmit to him a particular Account of the Bunds, and further to join Mr. De Gloss who is upon the same Service at the Bunds of Mandargatchee and Bulrampore.

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Plan for Enlarging the Pier.

April 28.—Letter from Mr. Fortnom the Civil Architect of this date read accompanied with a Plan of the Old Pier or Wharfs for landing goods at the Gate of the Old Fort and estimating the Expence of erecting two new Cranes at fifteen thousand Rupees.

AGREED that the Same be carried in Execution with all possible Diligence and Expedition and that Mr. Fortnom's Letter be entered hereafter.

TO HARRY VERELST, ESQ^{r}, PRESIDENT, &C^{a}, COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

GENTLEMEN,

In Consequence of the Orders I was favoured with of the 7th Instant I lay before you a Plan of the old Piers or Wharf for landing of Goods at the Gate of the Old Fort. The dotted Lines shew those Additions that will be necessary for the erecting two Cranes. The old Platform and Boarding being decay'd it will be necessary to take it up and make entirely new. To Compleat the whole according to the Plan and make two new Cranes will amount to 15,000 Rupees.

I am, Gentlemen, with Respect,
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,
T. FORTNAM,
Civil Architect.

April 28th, 1766.

Alterations to the River Face of the Old Fort.

May 5.—In Consequence of the Proposal made by the Committee in their Proceedings of the 4th of April for Converting the Old Fort into a Custom House Orders have already been given for the erecting of a Pier there for the greater Convenience of Landing and Shipping of Merchandize—Conformably therefore to what the Committee now propose in prosecution of that Plan,

ORDERED that the Civil Architect be directed to form a Calculate of the Expence of building Gateways from the points of the N.W. and S.W. Bastions of the Old Fort to prevent Goods from being Clandestinely taken away before they have been passed by the Custom Master and of a Substantial Shed to be run up the whole Length of the Curtain with Brick Pillars and a Slight Terras covering for the conveniency of securing the Goods in case of Rain.

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May 12.—Letter from Mr. Fortnam the Civil Architect read as Enter'd hereafter accompanied with a Plan of the West Side of the Old Fort and the Gateways Walls and Sheds proposed to be built for the use of the Custom House estimating the Expence at thirteen thousand Rupees.

AGREED that the same be carried into Execution with all possible diligence and Expedition and that the Plan be delivered to the Buxey.

TO THE WORSHIPFUL WILLIAM B. SUMNER, ESQ[r], PRESIDENT, &C[a], COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

GENTLEMEN,

Agreeable to the Orders I was favour'd with of the 5th Instant, I have made a Survey of the North Side of the Old Fort and lay before you the Plan with Gateways and Walls to prevent any Goods being carried off clandestinely. I have also marked the Shed for the Reception of them in Case of Rain the Length of the Curtain which is sufficient for a Shed 504 feet long and 30 feet broad. To make the Pillars Pucca and to cover it with Saul Timbers and a Terras, together with the Gateways and Walls will amount to the Sum of 13,000 Rupees.

With the utmost Respect, I am,
Gentlemen,
Your most Devoted Humble Servant,
T. FORTNOM.

NEW FORT,
12th May, 1766.

Saifu-d-daulah proclaimed Nawab.

May 22.—The Board then adjourned to proclaim the Nabob Syf-o-Dowla in this Town which was accordingly done with the usual Ceremonies. A Proclamation in form being publickly Read at the Council House, the Old Fort and Town Hall.

357. PLAISTED RECOMMENDED, FENWICK DEAD.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, March 24, 1766. *Bengal Letters received, Vol. VII.*

86. Mr. Bartholomew Plaisted, who during his long Services, has acted much to our Satisfaction, We beg leave to recommend as very deserving your Notice and Favour.[1]

[1] Plaisted did not long survive this commendation. In July, 1767, he was ordered to go to Luckypore on a survey. He returned to Calcutta on October 1, 1767, and

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99. Captain Thomas Fenwicke,[1] who you permitted to return to England upon Furlow, died in October last.

358. Proceedings as to Buildings in June and September, 1766.

Extracts from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, June 2, *September* 18, *and September* 29, 1766. *Range I., Vol. XXXIX.*

Old Council House to be Occupied by the Paymaster-General.

June 2.—Agreed that the Old Council House be appropriated to the Use of the Military Pay Master General where the office of his Employ is always to be kept in future.

Apartments in the Old Fort for the Custom Master and Surgeons.

September 18.—In consequence of the Order passed in Consultation the [5th] May for converting the Old Fort into a Custom House,

Ordered that the Appartments lately occupied by the Fort Major be appropriated to the Use of the Custom Master,

Ordered also that the Corner Rooms in the long Row to the Eastward (be appropriated) to the Use of the Surgeons.

Directions for a New Hospital and New Burial Ground. Old Fort Ditch to be filled up.

September 29.—The board taking into Consideration the great Inconvenience attending the want of a proper Hospital for the Military the present One being only a Temporary Building in the

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died, 'after a long illness,' on October 27 (see Bengal Public Consultations for the dates quoted). In a General Letter from Bengal to the Court, December 10, 1767, it is stated that Plaisted died, 'after a Fever of ten days,' on October 27. The burial is entered in the register on October 28, 1767.

[1] His son, Edward Fenwicke, while employed in the Secretary's office, gave a copy of Colonel Smith's minute of May 18, 1768, to Bolts. He was accordingly dismissed from the service for breach of trust, and ordered to return to England; but the Board subsequently permitted him to remain in Bengal until the Court's pleasure should be known (see General Letters from Bengal, September 21, 1768, and March 28, 1769, in the volume of *Bengal Letters Received*).

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Old Fort destitute of the proper accommodation It is judged Expedient that a commodious One be erected as soon as possible and the Civil Architect attending the Board on this Occasion he is Ordered to point out a proper Spot for a Hospital to be built upon, and at the same time to deliver in a Plan of One with an Estimate of the Expence.

The present Burying Ground, situate in the middle of the Town is also very detrimental to the Healths of the Inhabitants and too much confined the Civil Architect is therefore directed to point out a more convenient Situation for one to be made of proper Dimensions.

ORDERED also that the Ditch round the Old Fort which has lately been converted into a Custom House and Cottah be filled up and that Orders be given to the Engineer accordingly.

359. THE COUNCIL REPORT TO THE COURT THEIR PROPOSALS FOR A NEW HOSPITAL AND NEW BURIAL GROUND.

Extracts from a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, November 28, 1766. *Paragraphs* 62-64, *Bengal Letters received, Vol. VII.*

62. Your Directions for postponing the building a Church untill every other Building be compleated shall be duly attended to, however we cou'd wish to have had your permission for constructing a convenient place of Publick Worship which we think essential towards a Reformation of the Morals of the Individuals of the Settlement, the present Building in use for that purpose not being able to contain a Quarter part of the European Inhabitants.

63. Taking into Consideration the great Inconveniency attending the want of a proper Hospital for our Military the present one being only a temporary Building in the old Fort prejudicial to the Inhabitants from it's Situation in the midst of the Town, and destitute of the needfull accommodations We have determined on having a commodious one erected, and given Directions for a proper Spot to be fixed upon for that Purpose.

64. The present Burying ground being situated in the middle of the Town has, we have Reason to believe contributed greatly to it's being unhealthy, we therefore intend to remove it to a distant and convenient Spot.

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360. The House bought for the Nabob in use for Public Offices.

Extract from a General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, March 30, 1767. Paragraph 18, Bengal Letters received, Vol. VII.

18. The reason for purchasing another house for the Nabob on which you are pleased to remark in your Letter of the 24th December was that the one before bought for him had been appropriated to the use of Council room and the Publick Offices, and the same is still occupied for that purpose.

361. Bad Condition of the Storehouses in the Old Fort.

Extract from Bengal Public Consultations. Fort William, May 11, 1767. Range I., Vol. XLI.

The Military Store Keeper informs the Board that all the Store houses Artificers Yard in the old Fort and the Artillery Yard near the Governor's House are in a very bad Condition. . . .

Agreed . . . that the President be desired to give Directions to the Chief Engineer to provide suitable places for the reception of the Military Stores.

362. The Custom House at the Old Fort.

Extract from General Letter from the Court to Bengal. London, March 16, 1768. Paragraph 51, Bengal Despatches, Vol. III.

We do not mean to apply the above Rule [viz. that all business is to be conducted in the New Fort] to the Custom House which will be more properly situated at the Old Fort and being more in the centre of the Town and more convenient for the Merchants to land their Goods.

363. Sale of the Old Hospital.

Extract from General Letter from Bengal to the Court. Fort William, February 2, 1769. Paragraph 113, Bengal Letters received, Vol. VIII.

113. The Old Hospital was brought on ballance in the General Books at Current Rupees 41554.1.3 but being almost entirely destroy'd by a violent Storm the Remains of it sold only for Current Rupees 414 and the Ballance of this head we ordered also to be wrote off.

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364. A Description of St. John's Chapel.

Extract from the 'Letters of Sophia Goldborne,' a collection published in London in 1789, under the title of 'Hartly House, Calcutta.'

I have been at church, my dear girl, in my new palanquin, (the mode of genteel conveyance) where *all* ladies are approached, by sanction of ancient custom, by *all* gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hand to conduct them to their seat; accordingly, those gentlemen who wish to change their condition (which, between ourselves, are chiefly old fellows, for the young ones either chuse country-born ladies for wealth, or, having left their hearts behind them, enrich themselves, in order to be united to their favourite dulcineas in their native land) on hearing of a ship's arrival, make a point of repairing to this holy dome, and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers; who, if this stolen view happens to captivate, often without undergoing the ceremony of a formal introduction, receive matrimonial overtures, and, becoming brides in the utmost possible splendor, have their rank instantaneously established, and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence of their husbands entitles them. . . . On my mentioning the church, you will perhaps fancy I ought to recount to you its magnificence and style of architecture, but the edifice dignified at present with that appellation does not deserve notice. It is situated at the Old Fort, and consists solely of a ground-floor,[1] with an arrangement of plain pews; nor is the Governor himself much better accommodated than the rest; and of course the Padra, as the clergyman is called, has little to boast of: the windows are however verandas which are pleasing to me in their appearance, independent of the blessing of air enjoyed through them.

[1] The Rev. H. B. Hyde, who quotes this same passage in his *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 169, notes that the floor must have been raised at some slight elevation, for there is an allusion to 'the stairs leading to the Church' in the records of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Freemasons in Bengal under date of December 27, 1774 (see Andrew D'Cruz's *History of Freemasonry in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1866).

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365. Lord Valentia's Account of the Old Fort.

Extract from 'Travels of Lord Valentia' in the Years 1802-1806, *Ed.* 1809, *Vol. I., p.* 236, *f.*

The first fort was erected here [Calcutta] in 1696. Our factories were then at Hoogly, but were moved two years afterwards. This little fort, which fell through the cowardice of its governor, and the want of military knowledge in the remaining officers, into the hands of Seraja-ud-Dowlah, in 1757,[1] is now used as a custom-house; and that spot, which could then hold our trade, our military stores, and a great part of the inhabitants, is now too small for the convenience of our revenue officers. The Black Hole is now part of a godown, or warehouse; it was filled with goods, and I could not see it. A monument is erected facing the gate, to the memory of the unfortunate persons who there perished. It also records the infamy of those, who, by removing their ships from the vicinity of the fort, left so many brave men at the mercy of a madman.

366. The New Custom House in 1819.

Extracts from the 'Calcutta Gazette' of 1819.

Government Advertisement.

January 14.—The Executive Officer, employed in clearing the Custom House Wharf preparatory to the erection of the New Buildings, having reported, that his operations have been much impeded by the continuance, on the Wharf and in the Godowns, of a quantity of Iron Kentledge, Balls, Guns, Redwood, Old Empty Casks, Iron Hoops, etc., together with a Coir Cable, many of which have remained there for upwards of one year; The Board of Revenue have directed me to give Notice to the Owners of the above Articles, that if they are not cleared from the Wharf and Godowns, in Fifteen Days, from the date of this publication, they will be buried in the Rubbish, or disposed of for the recovery of Wharfage and Godown Rent.

C. D'Oyly,
Collector of Govt. Customs.

Government Custom House,
14*th January*, 1819.

[1] The year should be 1756.

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Masonic Ceremonies to be used.

January 14.—We understand that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal has been solicited by the Collector of Government Customs, to assist in the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the New Custom House, about to be erected on the scite of the Old Fort, and that preparations for that purpose are making with the sanction of the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings. The Masonic Lodges in Calcutta will be assembled to join in the procession. We have not heard that the day has been fixed, but believe it will not be protracted beyond this month. We congratulate the public on the approaching commencement of a work of such importance to the Commercial Interests of Calcutta, and trust that in the course of a year the port of this great City will be enabled to afford those accommodations and facilities to Trade which it has been so long a stranger to.

Notice of the Ceremony.

February 11.—The foundation stone of the New Calcutta Custom House will be laid in Masonic form by the M. W. Provincial Grand Master of Bengal, to-morrow at 4 o'Clock in the afternoon, on which occasion the presence of all the Brethren in Calcutta and its vicinity has been earnestly requested.

Description of the Ceremony.

February 18.—On Friday last, the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the New Calcutta Custom House took place, and afforded a very interesting Masonic spectacle.

The officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge and the Members of the other Lodges in Calcutta met, as had been previously arranged, at the Exchange Rooms at four o'clock, and afterwards proceeded to the site of the Old Fort in the following order:

Music.
Grand Marshal.
Lodges.
Lodge Courage with Humanity.
Aurora Lodge.
Moira Lodge.
Marine Lodge.

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Humility with Fortitude.
True Friendship.
Industry and Perseverance.
Star in the East.
Each Lodge preceded by its own
Tyler.
Superintendent of the Building with
the Plan.
Provincial Grand Lodge.
Tyler.
Inscription Plate carried by a Brother.
Golden Mallet carried by a Brother.
Three Silver Cups, with Wine and Oil
and Corn, carried by three Brethren.
Golden Compasses, carried by a Brother.
Golden Square, Level and Plumb,
carried by Three Brothers.
Grand Stewards.
Grand Secretary. Grand Registrar.
Grand Sword bearer. Grand Treasurer.
Holy Bible, carried by a Brother.
Grand Chaplain.
Senior Grand Deacon, Junior Grand Deacon,
Senior Grand Warden, Junior Grand Warden.
Provincial Grand Master, with
Deputy Provincial Grand Master.
Two Grand Stewards.

Around a portion of the ground on which the intended building is to be raised, a bamboo railing had been placed, having an arched entrance from the road upon the East side. After passing through this entrance the music turned to the right and proceeded round the stone to the West side of the enclosed area, where it halted and continued playing. The Provincial Grand Lodge followed and halted on the East side of the stone, the Provincial Grand Master taking his seat at the Pedestal supported on the right by the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Chaplain, and Senior Deacon, and on the left by the other Grand Officers. The Lodges arranged themselves around the area according to seniority, and when all had reached their places the music ceased.

The Plan of the Building was then presented by the Superintendent to the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Brother

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Blaquiere, who handed it up to the Provincial Grand Master, Brother the Hon. C. R. Lindsay, who after inspecting it, returned it to the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, desiring him to lay the cement and fix the Inscription Plate. He advanced with the Provincial Grand Chaplain, Brother the Revd. H. Shepherd, supported by the Grand Stewards, to the East side of the stone, and after the Provincial Grand Chaplain had delivered an appropriate p[r]ayer, the phials that contained the coins were placed in the niches, and the Deputy Provincial Grand Master read the Inscription, as follows:

'In the 59th year of the reign of His Most Gracious Majesty George III. and under the auspices of the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, K.G., Governor General and Commander in Chief of India, who in his wise and enlightened government of this great empire regarding the welfare and prosperity of its commerce, increased and extended by the blessings of general peace with Europe, and the opening of a free intercourse with this country; and considering the present inefficient state of this harbour, sanctions the construction of commodious warehouses to secure ample accommodations to trade.

'The Honorable Charles R. Lindsay, Provincial Grand Master of Bengal, at the solicitation of Sir Charles D'Oyly, Baronet, Collector of Customs, laid the foundation stone of this Custom House: a structure commensurate with the large requisitions of the port of Calcutta, calculated to afford to the numerous vessels arriving from every part of the globe, protection and security to their cargoes, ease and facility to mercantile transactions, and prosperity to the British Government in India: this 12th February, in the year of our Lord 1819, of the Æra of Masonry 5823, Geo. Lindsay, Lieutenant of Engineers, being architect. May the undertaking prosper by the blessing of Almighty God.'

The Plate was then fixed in its place, and the cement spread, after which the Provincial Grand Master advanced to the Stone, supported by the Grand Wardens and other Officers, and ordered it to be lowered into its place by three regular stops; which was accordingly done. The Square, Level and Plumb were then handed successively by the Provincial Grand Wardens to the

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Deputy Provincial Grand Master, who again handed them to the Provincial Grand Master, and he having tried the Stone by them, returned them to the Deputy.

The Golden Mallet, having been next handed to the Provincial Grand Master, he gave three knocks on the stone with it, accompanying the ceremony with the following benediction:

'May the Grand Architect of the Universe grant a Blessing on this Stone, which we have now laid, and by his Providence enable us to finish this and every other work undertaken for the benefit or embellishment of this City.'

A piece of Solemn Music was then performed by the band, after which the Cornucopia and Silver Cups were delivered with the same formalities as before to the Provincial Grand Master, who poured the wine, corn and oil that they contained upon the stone, saying,

'May the All-Bounteous Author of Nature bless this City with abundance of Corn, Wine and Oil, and with all the necessaries, conveniencies, and comforts of life, and may the same Almighty Power preserve this City from decay to the latest Posterity.'

On this the band struck up Rule Britannia. The Provincial Grand Master then delivered an address suitable to the occasion, which was answered by the Collector of the Customs, Sir Charles D'Oyly. The Provincial Grand Master, having then returned to the Chair, delivered the Plan of the Building to the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, who returned it to the Superintendent of the Building, Lieut. Lindsay, with a suitable address, and the ceremonies closed, the band playing 'God save the King.'

The British Ensign was then hoisted over the Stone, and a royal salute was fired from some pieces of artillery that had been placed near the spot. Various salutes were also fired by vessels laying off town in the river.

The Lodges then returned in procession to the Exchange in reverse order, the band leading.

The whole of the ceremony had an imposing effect and was witnessed by a very large assemblage of spectators. Immediately to the Northward of the Stone several rows of benches, rising

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behind each other, and surmounted by an awning, were placed for the accommodation of the ladies who graced the spectacle with their presence, and a number of carriages were drawn up round the north-east angle of the enclosure, from which all the proceedings of the occasion were conveniently viewed.

367. Removal of the Holwell Monument.

Extract from the 'Calcutta Journal,' April 6, 1821.

The monument over the well-remembered 'Black Hole' of Calcutta[1] is at length taken down, and we think should long ago have been demolished.

368. Indignation at the Removal of the Holwell Monument.

Extract from a Letter to the 'Calcutta Journal,' April 11, 1821.

The indignation of Walter Scott at the removal of the Old Cross, Edinburgh, and of Lord Byron, at the plundering of what 'Goth and Turk and Time had spared' of the relics of Athenian taste and magnificence, were not so well founded as that which I, and all with whom I have spoken on the subject, feel at the destruction of the Black Hole Obelisk. Edinburgh retained many more venerable curious and interesting memorials wherewith to console herself; and the modern inhabitants of Greece were wholly incapable of appreciating the masterpieces which they had inherited, or of being Commoved by the associations with which they aspire an Englishman; for the Bard himself acknowledges that—

> 'These proud pillars claim no passing sigh,
> Unmov'd the Moslem sits, the light Greek carols by.'

But we are not Moslems and Greeks; nor have we other monuments of the infancy of the settlement in the country equally valuable with that which has been taken away. We have no other. It was raised by the piety of a better generation[2] to com-

[1] A mistake. The monument was not over the Black Hole, but over the spot where the bodies of the victims were buried.

[2] A mistake. It was raised by one man—Holwell.

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memorate the most deeply interesting event in our early history, as a tribute to the memory of the few British inhabitants of Bengal[1] then collected in Calcutta, whose tragic fate on the spot where all is now peace and festivity, must be a theme for eternal sympathy. . . .

It is a spot that every intelligent stranger is eager to inspect; and if he might have been somewhat disappointed at not finding a more considerable monument dedicated to those whose affecting story he had read in the admirable page of Orme, yet its dark and weather-beaten appearance seemed to make it contemporaneous with the event which it recorded, and thereby imparted to it a higher interest than any work of later date can possess.

I shall not attempt to reply by anticipation to any analogies that may be set up for this act of sacrilege, for I really cannot imagine what will be offered. But since the irreparable mischief is done, the only atonement (however inadequate) that can be made by the excellent conservators who have demolished the structure is, that they shall forthwith build another as much surpassing the former in size and beauty as it will be inferior in its powers of mysterious interest.

P.S.—I hope the tombs of Job Charnock and of Surgeon Hamilton will not undergo a similar process of conservancy.—BRITTANUS.

369. EXCAVATIONS IN 1880.

Notes on the Remains of Portions of Old Fort William, discovered during the Erection of the East Indian Railway Company's Offices, by R. Roskell Bayne. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LII., Part 1, 1883, *p.* 105.

I presume that I may take it for granted that most of my readers know from 'Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan' published in 1778, something of the locality and the form of the first Fort William. To those who do not, Vol. II., Book VI., headed 'the war in Bengal,' of the above work will give a very good general idea of it, and the Map of 'Calcutta in 1756' contains much interesting information that

[1] Another mistake. It commemorated all who perished in the Black Hole without any distinction of race.

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has been of considerable use and guidance to me. On p. 62, from Orme's account of Old Fort William we read as follows:

'The fort of Calcutta, called Fort William, was situated near the river, and nearly half way between the northern and southern extremities of the Company's territory. Its sides to the east and west extended 210 yards; the southern side 130, and the northern 100: it had four bastions, mounting each 10 guns: the curtains were only four feet thick, and, like the factory of Cossimbazar, terraces, which were the roofs of chambers, formed the top of the ramparts; and windows belonging to these chambers were in several places opened in the curtains: the gateway on the eastern side projected, and mounted five guns, three in front, and one on each flank towards the bastions: under the western face and on the brink of the river, was a line of heavy cannon mounted in embrasures of solid masonry; and this work was joined to the two western bastions by two slender walls, in each of which was a gate of palisadoes. In the year 1747 warehouses had been built contiguous to the southern curtain, and projecting on the outside, between the two bastions, rendered them useless to one another; however, the terraces of these warehouses were strong enough to bear the firing of three-pounders which were mounted in barbette over a slight parapet.'

Fort William was not the first Fort built by the English Traders in Bengal; that at Hugli had been erected either at the first voyage to Bengal or soon after, about 1640; it was called a Factory, and the Mogul Empire jealousy prevented anything like a bastion being erected about it.

In 1696 on the outbreak of a war between the Rajas on the western side of the river Hugli and the Mogul Empire, the three European settlements were allowed to enclose their factories for the protection of their goods, and says Orme, 'they, taking for granted what was not positively forbidden, with great diligence raised walls with bastions round their factories.' Such was the origin of Hugli, Chandernagore and Calcutta Forts. Calcutta is then described as a small town contiguous to Sootanutty: we may ascribe the date of 1696 to the first Fort William as an enclosed fort.

In 1753, the Mahratta ditch was dug. Originally intended to be

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seven miles long, only three were completed. This was a work carried out at the request and 'at the cost,' so says Orme (p. 45), 'of the Indian inhabitants of the colony.' He remarks: 'Allaverdy made no objection to this work, and moreover permitted the English the same year to raise a rampart with bastions of brick-work round their factory at Cossimbazar.' This, I am inclined to think, must have been the date of the addition of the outer bastions of Fort William; which, as I shall be able to show, are additions. I, however, cannot find any direct allusion to their being built.

In 1756, repairs to the fort were begun in compliance with orders from the Court of Directors. Holwell, writing in a letter, dated November 30th, 1756, says: 'On the receipt of your letter by the Delawar in April we began to put the settlement into as good a posture of defence as we could, and as the parapet and embrazures as well as the gun carriages to the westward of the fort were much out of repair, they became the first object of our attention; a number of workmen were employed, and I believe the parapet and embrazures, the greater part of which we were obliged to pull down, were more than half run up—when they were stopped by a Purwannah from the Suba.'

That these repairs had been going on for some time past, and that they were extensive, is evident from the fact that considerable diligence had been employed in excluding spies from the city who had reported that the place was being fortified.

The excuse sent was to the effect that war had broken out between England and France, and, in order to prevent their factory from being taken by the French, they state, 'we were only repairing our line of guns to the water side,' which Orme states 'extended on the brink of the river in front of the western side of the fort.'

I have prepared a plan, Plate X.,[1] from a portion of Simm's Map, which is a particularly accurate survey shewing the buildings as they stood in 1847, and over it I have shewn the fort in a thick outline, following Orme's measurements for the south curtain and the length of the east and west sides. The measurements taken by me comprised the whole of the north east bastion, a portion of the north west sufficient to determine its junction with the curtains, all the north curtain, with about 150 feet of each of the

[1] Plate XIX. of the present work.

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east and west curtains. All these dimensions I have accurately taken, and with them and Orme's figures, I have laid out the east, the west, and also the south sides.

Measurements made on this Map near the north-west bastion at its junction with the curtain wall to the river are as follows: water line in 1756, about 70 feet, in 1847-49, 425 feet, to Jetty edge of to-day (1882), very nearly 800 feet. They serve to shew how the river bank has been pushed west.

The second or larger scale Plan, Plate XI.,[1] that I have prepared, shews the outline of the buildings newly erected. The walls which are tinted black are the walls and bastions of the first erected fort; whether the small inner square of the north-west corner should be shewn as belonging to the old Fort, I cannot now say, as I failed to note if the work butted or bonded into the curtains. The lighter tint shews the bastions erected *after* the square towers, with faces, flanks, and salient. The next lighter tint shews some inner walls, always in brickwork in mud, and running parallel to the curtains, and about 13 to 14 feet within them. Occasionally I find a cross wall, but I have failed to note them all, or I have missed them.

I have also shewn on this plan such drains as I found. The regularly formed building in the centre, it will be seen, I have called the Carpenters' shop. The small diagrams to a larger scale are the sections of walls, Plates XII. and XIII.,[2] drains, etc.

The whole of the dimensions recorded were made by myself in order to ensure a faithful record of what I found.

The small perspective sketch, Plate XIV.,[3] has been made from the measured plan and filled in from a little pencil sketch made in my note-book at the time; at no period of the excavation was it laid as completely bare as is here shewn—I was hurrying on with the work of building the Company's offices and had no time to stop to expose the whole at a time.

I will now proceed to recount to you what I found, as nearly as I can, in the order in which I found the works shewn on my plans.

On January 2nd, 1880, I opened the ground on which the East India Railway Company's offices are built. It had just been

[1] Plate XX. of the present work. [2] These plates are not reproduced.
[3] Plate XXIII. of the present work.

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cleared to floor level of some Custom House sheds built at various periods, some, I believe, as recently as 1866. I took the curb level at the junction of Clive Street and Fairlie Place as my datum for levels, calling it 101·5. The general level of the floors of the godowns was about 1·0″ above this. The floor of the new building, to which I shall have to refer in a comparison of levels, is 1·5 feet above my datum, or 103·00.

In starting the setting out of my foundations I selected as a commencement the longest straight wall; it is a wall 220 feet long. Before we had been at work excavating a day, I might almost say a few hours, we found we were on an old wall, the full length of our proposed wall, and almost in exact alignment with it and 4 feet thick.

Knowing as I did that I was in the locality of old Fort William, I inferred that I was on the wall or one of the walls of the Fort, and I proceeded at once to dig down at its side in three or four places in order to see how far it went down and what it was like. I found it went down nearly two feet below the level at which it had been decided our walls and concrete were to go, and as it was a good straight solid wall with a fair base, it was decided to build on it in place of pulling it up. Its base being smaller than our calculated areas and pressures, it has a greater load than the 1 ton to the foot of the other walls; its load is 1¼ tons, but its solidity has warranted the use made of it, and it saved some two or three thousand Rupees. In addition the wall, buried though it be, we know it to be there, it has not been annihilated.

In setting out this 220 feet wall of the new building, I had been guided by the curb stone of the footpath of Fairlie Place, and had laid out my wall parallel to it. I now found (after it had been settled to make use of the wall), that it was 9 in. in its length out of parallel with the curb; so, in order to utilize the wall, I had to throw my centre line longitudinally westward to the north and eastward to the south on a centre point 9 in. each way, and my new wall then lay exactly over the centre of the wall that proved to be the north curtain of old Fort William. I mention this in detail, as I wish to call attention to the very close alignment of streets of to-day with those shewn on the small Map that accom-

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panies Orme's Vol. II., already referred to. The plan is headed—Plan for the intelligence of the Military Operations in Calcutta when attacked and taken by Seerajul Dowleh, 1756.' I shall have occasion later on to call attention to this close adherence to old lines of streets. This case I think a very remarkable one.

So soon as I had satisfied myself that this wall was a part of the old Fort, I narrowly watched the excavations following it, and began to keep a careful record of the walls as they were exposed. Immediately following this discovery of the north curtain wall, I found we were on some very heavy and closely built walls that soon proclaimed themselves in their raking lines as the flanks and faces of a bastion. As far as I possibly could, without delaying my work, I had the earth from between the walls excavated before the demolition of the walls themselves was begun, as it may be imagined there was very little of the old walls left, for the corners of the new building, made up as they are of a main staircase, bath-rooms and urinals, implies a network of cross walls in the new work. In every case the old walls go down some two feet below the new walls, and in some cases (the north face wall for example) have a slice cut off their inner face from nil at one end to 1 or 2 feet at the other, and so we cut and sliced them to make way for our foundations. About this time we found the walls a staircase or ramp in the junction of the north curtain wall and the old square bastion of the earlier construction. There was another—a stair—at the corresponding corner at the south-east bastion; for Holwell tells us at the time the prisoners were in the verandah near the Governor's House: 'Besides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of this verandah leading up to the south-east bastion to prevent any of us escaping that way.'

As I have already said, the fort walls were founded at a lower level than the walls of the new building by 2 feet, so that below our foundations would still be found a map, as it were, of the old Fort.

I now found that the outer bastion with its flanking faces and salient was a later work, as the junctions of the flank walls with the older curtains butted and did not bond; in addition, the old plaster surface had not been taken off, but the new work was built against it. I afterwards found this to be the case with the north-west

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bastion, which, as will be seen, had not a square bastion similar to the north-east corner.

The walls were battered with a fall in of about one in ten, and the outer faces were finished with a thin coat of lime plaster of a rich crimson tint, and retciulated in imitation of stone work, the stones being about 1·6 long by about 9 to 10 in. deep. This was the case with both the bastions.

It struck me, as I exposed this deep red plaster, that probably this factory bastion would be called the Lall Killa (Red Fort), and it suggested itself to me that the Lall Diggee (Red Tank) may have taken its name from the Red Fort.

All this work of the bastions, more particularly the later portion, was of very good material and excessively hard to break into. The bricks of all their old works were $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$. The lime used here was shell lime. We often found large oyster shells, of a size that would weigh a seer to a seer and a half, embedded in the wall, and by the hundreds strewn about and buried in the fillings.

The spaces between the older walls of the bastion were loose earth filling and no floor; the spaces behind the new bastion faces and flanks were paved brick on edge. The level of this paving and the bottom edge of the external plaster was 98·00, or 3·6 below my datum line, 5·0 below the floor level of the new building. On a corner of the plaster in the passage way behind the bastion north face was a bench mark, consisting of an inverted arrow-head, in black on the white plaster.

Of the east curtain wall we saw but little, only where we cut through it with our cross walls, and it began to be a matter of regret whenever we had to cut through it, it was such a labour and toil and caused such delay.

The soil to the north curtain wall appeared to have been but little disturbed and, so far as I noted, to keep about the level of the plaster noted in the north-east bastion. Unfortunately, a little north of this wall there had been a wall of the Custom House sheds that had disturbed the soil, but as a rule the level seemed, as far as my observation went, pretty regular. On the east curtain wall there had been little or no disturbance, the soil was often quite undisturbed, and only here and there were potsherds in it.

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I could not make much of the north-west bastion; it was nothing like so regularly built, and had not the older inner square tower (unless the two square walls shewn on my plan belonged to it); there was no ramp or stair to the roof that I noted, and altogether it was very confused, and we were pushing on with concrete and walls, that there was no time to wait until disjointed fragments could be read and understood. Here I find at least that the old walls of the north and west curtains met with a small rounded corner, as the older plaster was still on the walls where the newer work butted it. This bastion appears to me to have been of very much smaller size. Added to all this I had not the opportunity of exposing the salient, as I had done in the north-east one.

As already stated the east and west curtain walls I have traced for 140 feet south.

In one place in the east wall I found what appeared to me to be a sill of a door and a plastered jamb, but a Custom House wall had gone through the old wall about here and so obliterated it that I could not make certain of it. On the north curtain wall there was neither break nor opening.

My next discovery of interest was a shed that had evidently been built an open one, and afterwards enclosed. It was 90 feet long by 40 feet wide, built parallel to the north curtain wall with a row of eight piers down the centre—just such a flat-roofed godown on brick piers as is to be found all over Calcutta to-day. Down the centre face of each pier had been a sunk water channel; all were visible at floor line and the shallow drain on the north side into which they ran was perfect. The spaces between the columns on the faces had been filled in, thus turning an open into a closed shed.

The floor of this shed was brick on edge, and all over the floor, in some places 1½, in others up to 8 or 9 inches in thickness, was burnt wood ash, the floor of the godown in places where I had to cut through it bearing traces of severe fire. This place I identify as the Carpenters' shop, and to which I will draw attention later on. The floor of this godown was 98·28 which makes it very nearly 4·9″ below our present ground-floor level. The wall plaster was uninjured, but we know that lime plaster will bear without injury a severe fire. The wood ash I take to be the debris at the

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time of the burning of the fort; above it, as will be seen from my section, is the khoa debris from a roof fallen by fire or demolition. It evidently was never cleared out after the fire, but had become a heap of rubbish, and so built over by the succeeding floor, shewn at the next higher level. ' Along the north wall of this shed I found large heaps of cinder with pieces vitrified as if from a forge. The earth to the north was about 1·9′ below the floor level of the shed.

I now come to the lightly tinted walls behind and parallel to the curtain walls. They vary in width, as will be seen from the plan, in no case 18 feet, the dimension given by Holwell of the 'Black Hole.' In one place only did I find any outer verandah, namely, on the west wall.

In every case these walls were of brickwork in mud, at least that portion that I found below the ground. They were very deep, almost as deep as the curtain walls, and very thick, all of them made of very thin 1½ brick. In a few places I found cross walls, and I find in my note-book a note to the following effect: 'Behind the 3′·0″ mud walls the space seems to be divided into cells.' I do not, however, find actual record of more than a few of these cross walls. I would very probably miss them, as, if there were but few, it would be quite a chance my coming on to them, and unless my walls or column foundations coincided with them, I should of course miss them, and I had no time to spend over searching for them. I could do little more than note and record what I came across.

I have a particular object in specially drawing attention to these inner walls and chambers, which, as will be anticipated, point to the locality, size, and character of the Black Hole, but this I will postpone until I have described the walls, etc., found, only repeating that my explanation of not always finding the cross walls of the chambers equally applies to my not finding the outer verandahs corresponding to those of the Black Hole. I simply did not hit on them in the foundations of my walls, or it may be that the 'court of guard' rooms *only* had a verandah. Along that portion of the west wall, also alongside an entrance door to be alluded to presently, and where most probably a guard would be stationed and would require a verandah, did I find verandah foundations.

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I will return to the western wall, but before describing it, I must remark that, as the walls of the new building running north and south approached the west, I found the natural ground sloped west, and that the drain followed a depression, which, by the time it reached the west curtain wall, had grown almost into a creek, compelling me to put in the foundations of the last two walls 3, 4 and 5 feet below the other walls, and the soil there was black, stinking river mud, full of potsherds, and here we found a great many boars' tusks of a small size.

Following the west curtain wall from the north-west bastion, and about 45 feet from it, we found a Sumph, into which the drains all emptied, or over which, as we found them, they all ended. We came on to this Sumph from behind, and before we actually found out what it was, we had destroyed its east face, and the loose filling caved in from the top as we cleared it out at the bottom, thus proclaiming its nature.

The main drain, that running from beyond the Carpenters' shop, I had traced right up to the west curtain wall. I have shewn it in section in fig. 3, Plate XII. It was a parallel-sided drain, at the upper end not more than 6 inches wide, widening to 13 inches at the lower end, and everywhere filled up with black mould. Over it and burying it was a later drain, a broad saucer drain, that in its turn had become filled in and buried. The two drains kept the same course. It was only the last 75 or 80 feet that the second drain was found. The Sumph into which these drains emptied was about 3′·6″ square, and, as I have said, coming on as we did from the side of an opened trench, we had destroyed it in part before we knew what it was, so that we did not see the entry of the two drains into it. The parallel-sided and lower drain fell fast toward the Sumph nearly 2 feet in 10. Where we had cut across it we found it full of potsherds, a coarse glazed blue and white ware, not a scrap of old willow pattern, square-ended, broken glass bottles, a black loamy earth, and a few very coarse thick pipe stems and bowls. We cleared out about 4 feet of this drain, tunnelling as it were into it, and then ceased.

The Sumph had been filled in with brick rubbish very loosely, so that the filling was full of cavities into which water had filtered, leaving on all the bricks a thin deposit of clay. This Sumph was

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nearly perfect up to about the second level of floors and material; above the rest the road ran. On emptying this Sumph we found on its western face a low arch with a versed sine of about 6 inches and above the floor of the Sumph. Into this opening we thrust a rod and found it 3 feet deep with water; probing 3 feet deep, we could feel a bottom of brickwork; we then tried it horizontally, and thrust our rod into vacuity; we tried a second and a third time and at last, finding that 20 feet found no end, we concluded it to be a drain.

As we had found water of which we were in want for our building operations, we decided to make use of it, and sank out to the bottom of the culvert which we then found to be a parallel-sided drain 2·6″ wide and 3 feet 6 high with an arched bottom and top. On a man trying to go into the drain we found it silted up about 2 feet deep. We put up a 1 h.-p. Ryder engine, and for twelve months drew water from this source. The water was perfectly clear and limpid. The workmen all drank of it.

Since the completion of the building a manhole has been sunk over this culvert, 45 feet to the west of the curtain, and a Tangye engine has now drawn for twenty-one months about 10,000 gallons of water a day from it. At a point 30 feet beyond this well, and to the west, is an iron grating—so I have been told by the coolies who have been into the drain to clean it out. The culvert falls about 15 inches in 30 feet from the well to the grating. The old Sumph was filled in on the completion of the work and not destroyed.

The water is clearly river water, as a green vegetation grows over it in the hot weather, precisely similar to a vegetation growing over the Chand Pál water in an adjoining tank pumped direct from the river, so that there is still existing some communication or filtration.

To continue my account of the west wall. At 55 feet from the flank wall of the bastion I found one jamb of a doorway in a wall 6 feet thick. This extra thickness of wall I could not understand at first, but on consideration I could see that the wall had been thickened on account of the door opening, and on looking for the other jamb I found a Custom House wall had passed through and destroyed it. I then looked for, and found, the extent of the thickened wall, which I found to be 16 feet wide, leaving an

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opening of 8′·4″. There is a change of level in the pavement, inside and out, in this door opening; they both have been additions on the date of the wall, as the plaster jambs go below both floors. On finding this door in the curtain wall I dug west, following the pavement and looking for the rampart wall, which I found at 25 feet distance. I looked for this, guided by the Panorama of Calcutta in Orme's Vol. II. Again referring to his plan, I could see that I was not at the limit of the ground west of the curtain, so I continued my searching west, until at 45 feet from the curtain wall I found a second wall 2′·6″ thick and parallel with the first and second walls; this I take to be the River or Quay wall. The doorway of the rampart wall measures 7′·1″ wide; it has a stone sill in the opening, and here again the paving has been added since the door was originally built, as the plaster jambs go behind and below the pavement. These doors are the riverside entrances alluded to by Holwell in his letter of November 30th, 1756, in which he states that 'The Suba from his litter returned my salaam'—this was on his resigning his sword—'and moved round to the northward and entered the fort by the small western gate.' These two outer walls I have found again further south. The entire space, so far as I have found it between the curtain wall and the next wall west, is paved with a brick on edge, a good large 10-inch brick, well burnt, laid in sand or soorkey on a brick flat, which is laid on 2 or 3 inches of burnt wood ash, the whole forming a good level, well laid floor. In places at a lower level of 4½ I find this floor again inside the curtain wall. I found it the whole length of the north curtain, between it and the mud and brick wall. I do not know if on the west side it only occurs in the gateway or if it continues north and south; I do not recollect it to the north towards the Sumph, but I found it further south in some gun platforms I have yet to describe. These details I have just described I found since the completion of the building, and on searching for some information as to a wall on which I found myself in doubt when preparing the diagrams for this paper.

In putting in the drain pipe from our latrines I cut through what appears to me to have been a sunken gun platform and the commencement of a second to the south. There were three steps

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down into it, plastered with splayed edges, almost as if new, so perfect was the plaster and the edges. The three steps were respectively 6″, 8″ and 4 inches in one place, the 8″ and the 4″ uniting into one of 12″; the change had been broken away before I saw it. The curtain wall had a sunken face in it, thus thinning it to about 3 feet. This work was all addition, as there were plaster faces behind the platform work. The outer face of this curtain was in some cases plastered, in some only whitewashed.

I imagine these to be some of the hurried works taken in hand, as alluded to by Orme, at the time the fort was assailed.

I would point out here (shewn on the Plan, Pl. X., O, and Pl. XI.) the verandah foundations opposite this western gate—the only place in which I have found signs of verandahs. I do not now understand the cross wall shewn in my plan opposite the entrance gate. On the east face of this verandah wall was a very perfect surface-drain, with a second one coming into it. I have no record of cutting through this verandah wall when putting in the drain already alluded to, so that I presume it stops short of the gun platform. This completes my notes of this wall.

I particularly drew attention to the inner parallel walls behind all the curtains, north, east and west, referring to Orme's description of the fort telling us of these inner walls. I have drawn to a small scale (Fig. 5, Plate XIII.),[1] the south-east bastion, reproducing the north-east bastion with its stairs to the terrace. My authority for shewing these stairs at this bastion I have already cited from Orme.

From the small map, in Orme's Vol. II., of Calcutta, I make the centre gateway to be about 180 feet from the south-east bastion. I have shewn in my conjectural plan this central portion as having 94 feet clear width inside and 100 feet outside. I scale this projecting portion as 10 feet, and Orme tells us it had one gun on each flank, for which I have allowed a projection of about 12 feet—whether more or less does not affect what I want to draw attention to. On the right, so called by Holwell—that is, the south—I have put the room of the guard, allowing a small verandah on the north of 10 feet in width; the room itself I have shewn 20 feet. The barracks behind it I shew as 40 feet. I next shew

[1] Plate XXII. of the present work.

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a chamber 17 feet wide; this, as will be seen, brings us up to the face of the square bastion, the first built portion of the Fort. So that we have only to shorten by 1 foot the barracks, or the room of the guard, or the space inside the gate, to make up this dimension to 18 feet. In any case here undoubtedly was the Military Prison, the Black Hole, so called by soldiers themselves, not so called, as many suppose, because of the events that occurred here.

I have drawn your attention to a shed which I have called the Carpenters' shop. I will now quote a few lines from Hollwell's account of the closing events of the 20th June.

'As soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction directed by the guard over us, to collect ourselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched verandah or piazza to the west of the Black Hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard, and just over against the windows of the Governor's easterly apartments. Besides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of this verandah, leading up to the south-east bastion, to prevent any of us escaping that way. On the parade (where you will remember the two twenty-four pounders stood) were also drawn up about four or five hundred gun-men with lighted matches.

'At this time the factory was in flames to the right and left of us; to the right the Armory and Laboratory; to the left the Carpenters' yard: though at this time we imagined it was the Cotta-warehouses.[1] Various were our conjectures on this appearance; the fire advanced with rapidity on both sides; and it was the prevailing opinion, that they intended suffocating us between the two fires: and this notion was confirmed by the appearance, about half an hour past seven, of some officers and people with lighted torches in their hands, who went into all the apartments under the easterly curtain to the right of us; to which we apprehended they were setting fire, to expedite their scheme of burning us. On this we presently came to a resolution, of rushing on the guard, seizing their scymitars and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death. But to be satisfied of their intentions, I advanced, at the request of Messrs. Baillie, Jenks and Revely, to see if they were really setting fire to

[1] The Company's cloth warehouses.

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the apartments, and found the contrary; for in fact, as it appeared afterwards, they were only searching for a place to confine us in: the last they examined being the barracks of the court of guard behind us.

'They ordered us all to rise and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard. The barracks, you may remember, have a large wooden platform for the soldiers to sleep on, and are open to the west by arches and a small parapet-wall, corresponding to the arches of the verandah without. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartments in reserve for us. For we were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet-wall; and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the furthermost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black Hole prison; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scimitars, pressed upon those of us next to them.

'Figure to yourelf, my friend, if possible, the situation of a hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air.'

I do not think there is any room to doubt now the *exact* locality of the Black Hole.

In the plan attached I think it is on the spot marked N (on Plate X.) and if my scaling from Orme's map is correct, and if his 210 yards given as the length of the east face is correct, the foundations of the building still remain, and their exact locality could with very little trouble or expense be found, because, as I have stated, these verandah walls go down very deep—deeper than the Custom House shed walls—and would consequently be, as I found those to the north, undisturbed. The salient and the faces of this bastion there is no doubt have been destroyed by the Post Office buildings, but the inner corner of the older square

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bastion appears to me to have fallen beyond the Post Office building, if, as I have said, Orme's figures are correct; and, as I have shown, they are *exact* on the north face.

I would now draw attention to the south-west corner. It will be seen that a considerable portion of this lies beyond the old Military Accounts Office. If the building is condemned as one to come down, I do hope attention will be called to obtaining a faithful record of all to be found here, and I am persuaded that all the bastion foundations will be found below those of the house as intact as I found those of the north-east bastion.

An expenditure of 150 Rupees judiciously applied would enable us to determine a good deal more of the fort walls without disturbing any building or breaking up any floors.

To return again to the levels of the old fort, I would draw attention to the floor and differences of level. The Carpenters' shop, for instance, with its floor of brick on edge, over 3 inches of fine concrete laid on 3 inches of brick rubbish; going upwards above this floor, wood ash, and the debris from the destroyed roof, then a tile floor on concrete 1′·5″ above the first floor, then again over that 1′·6″ of rubbish, and then a metalled road, that in this place ran between two Custom House sheds; then, if I had made my section through one of the sheds, its floor of brick on edge over brick flat, and now again the floors of the new buildings, of stone pavement on 6 inches of concrete or 8 inches of concrete with Portland cement finishing. These two last are 4 feet 9 inches above that of the Carpenters' shed of 1756. Thus there are four floors in succession, first that of 1756, then the tile floor, age doubtful, then one of 1866, and now the new one of 1883.

I have incidentally referred to the streets shewn on Orme's map, comparing them with those of to-day. In the extract from Simm's map, on which I have shewn by a thick dotted line the water edge as shewn on Orme's map, a ghaut will be noticed that does not quite fit in with the end of Khoyla Ghaut Street. This non-fit is due I fancy to an error in Orme's map, increased by my plotting from a map without a scale. I have, however, adhered closely to what I have measured or scaled, and have not cooked my dimensions in order to make them fit in. The angle of the street is exactly as at the present time.

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The wide opening in Clive Street opposite the Bonded Warehouses, and the little bend west at the head of Clive Ghaut Street, are as exact as this small scale could shew them. Church Lane is another accurately fitting bit, and so in fact are numerous others.

Judging from the map already referred to, 'the Park,' now Dalhousie Square or Lall Diggee, appears to me to have extended itself north a little, and the road on the north of it to have been correspondingly narrowed.

I have shewn on the Plan (Plate X.) the place which I conjecture to be the unfinished Ravelin, into the ditch of which Holwell says 'the dead bodies were next morning thrown.'

At the time the drainage pipe was put down in Fairlie Place Mr. Bradford Leslie, then Engineer to the Municipality, noted that they had to cut through a pucca ghaut exactly opposite the lane leading up to No. 2, Fairlie Place. It agrees exactly with the ghaut shewn on Orme's map, and also on the perspective sketch from the riverside. This is a valuable piece of confirmatory evidence of the correctness of this plan and the old line of river bank at that date.

Nothing of interest was found in the excavations save a chain shot or two, some 30 or 40 cannon-balls of varying sizes and of malleable iron, some almost bullets in size; these were mostly found at the west end of the Carpenters' shop and outside it. The breach end of an old 10-pounder gun, and the top end and ring of an old anchor stock, was all that was turned up.

In conclusion, I would here note a record I have made of the building, and of the extreme point of the north-east bastion (the salient, as it is termed).

Whilst rounding off the corner of our boundary wall so as to ease the foot traffic passing it, I have secured the little bit of triangular land belonging to the building by paving it, and on this paving I have had cut, in the northern line of the bastion face and on the eastern edge, a line parallel to the eastern face, but two feet removed within it, as the actual line lies below the footpath and off the East Indian Railway land.

I would have liked to have placed a small tablet here to record one fixed point of the old fort, but as I was spending money

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belonging to the Government of Bengal, I could not do it. The stone to carry a tablet is inserted, ready if at any time the money to pay for the tablet is forthcoming. My idea was a brass plate with an engraving on it of the outline of the fort and a short legend of explanation.

I would solicit permission to make a few excavations here and there in the Custom House compound. Digging a few holes does not cost very much, and with the north portion of the fort and lines to start with, the exact spots could be indicated without much guesswork or hunting for them.

I think an excavation (I don't ask for it) at a place measured from the point of the central or east gate drawn east, and about 100 feet east of the east curtain, would find the burial-place of the victims of the night of June 20th, 1756.

I do not know if any records were kept of what was found during the building of the Post Office north-east corner: I fear none. It was stated that when the Port Commissioners' offices were built some of the foundations then uncovered were those of the Fort. A glance at Simms map, now that we have the north curtain fixed, will shew that this cannot have been the case, as this site in 1756 lay in the river, or at least beyond the river wall of the fort, and in the mud-banks.

In the excavation for the buildings now going on in Koyla Ghaut Street, the river wall shewn in Orme's map should have been found just about here, but as I have found this river wall to be only a small wall, 2′·6″ thick, it would probably escape detection amongst such a maze of walls, and of so many ages. I was repeatedly over these excavations to see if anything of interest was to be found.

One wall I found, a battering wall 2′·10″ thick, 2′·3″ at an upper point, but it was too far inland to be the river wall. The character of the work, however, was the same as that found in the inner walls of the Fort, partly bricks in mortar, partly in mud; on the outer face the earth sloped riverwards as if tipped in from the wall; it had behind it a sort of floor roughly laid, small khoa over a large quantity of oyster shells and brick rubbish.

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370. Further Excavations in 1883.

Extract from the 'Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta, February 7, 1883, pp. 42-44.

The Council reported that, in consequence of the general wish expressed in the discussion which took place after the reading of Mr. Bayne's paper at the last meeting, the Secretary had written a letter to the Government of Bengal requesting the Lieutenant-Governor to order further excavations to be made with a view to fixing the remaining sites in old Fort William definitely, and to direct tablets to be erected at the more important points. A reply had been received from the Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal, P. W. D., enclosing a copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, P. W. D., to the Superintendent of Works, Calcutta, ordering the excavations to be made and tablets to be erected at a cost not to exceed Rs. 300.

The Secretary read the following note by Mr. R. R. Bayne on some further discoveries made by him on the site of old Fort William during the laying down of the water-pipe through the Custom House premises:

Since the last meeting of the Society, the laying of the water-pipe through the Custom House premises has been carried out. I fortunately returned to Calcutta only the day before they began the excavation about the site marked on my plan shewing the earth-work Ravelin alluded to by Orme. The tram-lines cross this spot, and the excavation of a piece about 40 feet in length was made at night. I made it my duty to watch it and only left on completion of the excavation after two o'clock at night, or rather morning. I was more than rewarded, for here undoubtedly was the excavation alluded to by Orme most distinctly shown in full section of the ditch, 30 feet wide, with sloping sides of 20 feet on the Fort side and 10 feet on the side towards the country beyond. A plan of the position of the section I have partly prepared whilst my notes are fresh: this I will complete ultimately. The trench in which the water-pipe was laid only went down 6 feet below road level. I was, however, kindly lent some coolies by the pipe-layer, and, at the lowest place indicated by the sloping lines of the ditch side, I had a further excavation made 2′·9″ deep and to the bottom

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of the ditch. I inferred it was bottom because brick débris were wanting and it was all clay; this 2′·9″ also brought me into water.

The longitudinal section of this pipe excavation showed on its sides the undisturbed natural soil sloping either way; above this it was filled in with a mixture of loose bricks, mortar, broken plaster and earth. It all lay very loosely packed towards the bottom; the bricks, as they lay tumbled in, were full of cavities, between some of which I could see in several inches or probe a stick as much as a foot; towards the bottom there was a greater mixture of loose earth than towards the top; the bottom to which I excavated and at which the filling of bricks ceased was at water line, or 8′·9″ below road level.

The excavation here, and the appearance of the trench, gave me the impression that the looseness of the filling might be due to come such cause as the decay of bodies laid in first, causing a cavity, which, if of a few inches only, would allow the soil immediately above it to follow in and consequently lie loosely packed. There was not a vestige of a bone, but 125 years would, I presume, destroy all traces of even bones in a soil saturated with water. The bottom of the trench, the part in which bodies would lie, was excavated by me with the light only of oil torches, and I, of course, could only very indifferently examine the soil, added to which the water-pipe layers could give me no time.

The trench was at an angle, and to anyone standing behind it, at the point at which the excavation cut it, the salient would be to his right, showing that the centre of the gateway was south—how far I cannot venture a guess—of the small fountain erected at this place. The ditch was to the east of this fountain, the bottom of the slopes 43 feet to the east of its centre.

I am inclined to think that the position of the fountain is, north or south, not very far off the centre line of the gateway.

About 56 feet within this temporary ravelin of earthwork, I found a sloping wall of brickwork, 2′·6″ thick, following the same direction, and 27′·6″ east, or in advance of, the east curtain or gate: from this I infer that there was an outer wall covering the entrance to the Fort.

The excavation of this trench for the piping has been completed,

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and has settled that the face of the eastern gate is still further to the south. Inside it I find at a distance of 17 feet the inner wall already found behind the northern curtain and the northern end of the east curtain; beyond it, again, I find at 11 feet a verandah wall as already described by me and wanting in all but the small gateway at the N.W. corner.

At a distance of 175′·0″ within this I found some of the foundations of the Governor's House. In my map I have conjectured this, and placed it 160 feet within the gateway, so that I am not very far out of position. To the north I have not examined the walls, nor do I intend to do so, as this is not important enough to search for, but should be recorded when further excavations are made.

Going west, the west curtain has been passed, and 18 feet within it, the inner wall of the chambers, a shallow wall but *no* verandah again. So that I can now safely say that the verandahs did not go entirely round the fort interior.

Beyond this I cannot reconcile anything with my find to the north. There are no less than five walls all of a date subsequent to the old wall just alluded to, all parallel to it—that is, all running north and south at about the same angle.

These walls are all very well built, some with not very deep foundations, all with a brick 10 × 5 (full dimensions) by 2 inches thick. The last is 140 feet west of the west curtain.

Within this last wall is another wall 1′·8″ thick, and the wall immediately east of this is also 1′·8″ thick (the only walls less than 3 feet thick): they are 16 feet apart, and I think have formed a landing place of narrow steps round a central 'well' of 9′·6″ square.

Nearly all this 140 feet is 'filling,' that is, made-up ground: the last 96 feet is all filling, and to a depth below the 6 feet bottom of the trench.

As these walls take one *outside* the Fort, I have not examined them further. The whole of the upper surface is road-metal on brick on edge on brick flat over rubbish. This extends down about 18 inches, and the very perfect old brick on edge on brick flat, found to the north and laid at right angles to the curtain wall, is here wanting. All I have just alluded to is quite modern.

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I have postponed any further search here until my return, in April, to Calcutta. The operations of the Municipality in laying in this pipe have been most opportune and have helped me considerably. I have to thank the overseer in charge for his assistance.

Dr. M'Cann remarked that as these further excavations had shown that the gateway of the fort was further to the south than Mr. Bayne had originally inferred, the south curtain wall might also be further to the south, so that Dr. Chevers's inference that the arches in the Post Office compound had lain just inside this wall might after all be correct.[1] He further stated that Mr. Bayne had pointed out to him that the long slope of the ditch as exposed by him was towards the fort, whilst the short slope was outwards, which was contrary to the usual mode of constructing ditches to cover fortifications.

371. Lord Dufferin and the Site of the Black Hole.

Extract from 'Our Viceregal Life in India,' by Lady Dufferin, Ed. 1889, Vol. II., pp. 6, 7.

Monday, 29th [March, 1886].—This being our last day at Calcutta, we crammed a little sightseeing into it. D. and I went with Dr. Busteed to look at the site of the Black Hole. This gentleman is one of the few people here who takes any interest in such matters, and he has worked away until he has discovered the exact spot where it was, besides collecting all the interesting details concerning that terrible disaster. Having found the place, which is now part of a courtyard leading to the Post Office, he has laid down a pavement the exact size of the little room called the 'Black Hole,' and has put up a tablet to explain this fact. Dr. Busteed gave me a little model of the place as it was, which shows that it was not a 'hole,' but a room. There was a double-

[1] Mr. Bayne subsequently remarked as follows on this suggestion: 'I do not think this at all likely, as my centre line of the east entrance of the Fort was conjecture, and was only a few feet to the north of its position, as now ascertained; and if the arcade was inside the Fort, as supposed by Dr. Chevers, then the east and west sides of the Fort would be over 50 feet longer than stated by Orme, whereas Orme's dimensions bring the south curtain wall close to these arcades, and we are told of the existence of flat-roofed warehouses abutting on the curtain wall.'

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arched verandah along the inside of the wall of the Fort. The inner verandah was used as a guard-room, and in the outer one the men sat. At the south end of the inner verandah a small place was partitioned off for a punishment cell; it had only two very small grated windows looking into the outer verandah, and one door which opened inwards. When the people were driven into this they did not know where they were going, and probably thought there was another door on the other side of it. One building still remains in the place which is built in this way, and the verandah against the wall is quite dark and close. The sight of it gives one a very good idea of the terrible sufferings all those unfortunate people must have undergone. Their dead bodies were taken out and buried a very little way off, and Holwell, who was the senior officer and one of the survivors, put up a monument over the spot. That monument was taken down about fifty years ago to spare some people's feelings, and now Dr. Busteed is very anxious to put up a stone to show where it stood, and to place in the church a tablet with the names of the persons who died in the Black Hole, which names Holwell had been at some pains to preserve. He (Holwell) was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds with the plan of this monument in his hand, and his descendants, who live in Canada, have the picture, and sent Dr. Busteed a photograph of it.

372. Notes by Dr. H. E. Busteed on the Sites of the Black Hole and the Holwell Monument.

Extracts from a Letter from Dr. H. E. Busteed, C.I.E., to Colonel S. T. Trevor. Calcutta, May 28, 1886.

My dear Trevor,—My deeds of good and evil in Calcutta are over. I leave it to-day, never to return. As the Viceroy seemed to take a strong interest in the subject of old monuments, &c., and sought information about two historic sites in Calcutta, I thought it well to prepare a note about the matter as I was going away and had all the threads in my hand. . . .

In forwarding this last month to the Private Secretary, I said that what stood in the way of marking the site of Holwell's monu-

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ment was the difficulty of being able to say exactly as yet where it actually stood, but trial excavations were still going on to ascertain this, if possible. The exigencies of traffic not only introduced a difficulty, but necessitated the exploring work being done very slowly. . . .

The Site of the Black Hole.

The old Fort of Calcutta dated from the close of the 17th century. It contained the Black Hole prison—so designated even before it became notorious—and was nearly all taken down about 1818 to make way for the present Custom-house built on a great portion of its site. Its demolition must have been a work of great labour, owing to the solidity and closeness of its masonry. Lord Valentia, writing of his visit to Calcutta in 1803, says: 'The Black Hole is now part of a godown or warehouse; it was filled with goods, and I could not see it. The little fort is now used as a Custom-house.' A resident of Calcutta also, who visited the cell itself in 1812, has left a very brief record of the appearance it presented.

It is likely that the disappearance of the fort led by degrees to the losing memory of the site of the tragedy of the 20th June, 1756, a result easily intelligible in such a changing and fleeting community as that of (European) Calcutta; indeed, even before the levelling of the first Fort William, erroneous ideas seem to have been locally current, not only as to the scene, but as to the circumstances of the Black Hole catastrophe.

At all events, it may be stated generally that the couple of generations sojourning in Calcutta since the demolition of the old fortress manifested little concern about its history or topography. It is true that some well-informed writers (notably Mr. Marshman, the Rev. J. Long, and Dr. Norman Chevers), who deprecated this indifference amongst Englishmen residing in Calcutta, made contributions from time to time to the local journals and periodicals about the antecedents of the city, but the interest which they aroused was languid and ephemeral. Similar attempts to attract popular attention to Calcutta antiquities were resumed in more recent years, and would have been equally barren of results, but for a circumstance which soon after opportunely occurred to enlist public interest in the site inseparably associated with the struggle for British supremacy in Bengal.

Much that had come to be only conjectural regarding the topography of the old fort was either confirmed or disproved in 1883, when Mr. Bayne, C.E., of the East Indian Railway, read a paper on the subject before the Asiatic Society here. This gentleman, in preparing for the foundation of the new East Indian Railway office in Clive Street, came down on what he saw must be the northern curtain and bastions of the levelled old fort, and he at once took careful notes of what he then and subsequently uncovered, with the view of being able from these fixed data, and by the aid of old outline plans with scales and measure-

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ments, to plot out and verify the recorded descriptions of the fort to be found in the evidence of contemporary writers.

Particular attention was directed to ascertain, by measurements from the trustworthy starting-points just found, what must have been the position of the Black Hole, the question of whose site had been recently under public discussion. Hitherto all that was known with certainty regarding it was, that it was at the southernmost end of the chambers used as barracks, which were backed by the eastern curtain, and that it was approximately of certain dimensions; where the southern end of the eastern curtain was could not be told until its length (which was known from record) could be measured off from its now found northern starting-point. The result of the plotting out to scale near the south-east limits of the fort was to disclose the curious fact that the Black Hole chamber was almost quite unbuilt over, and that an accurate map of it, which had only to be unburied, was lying (not very many feet from the place which conjecture had assigned to it) under a roadway in the Post Office enclosure between the opium godowns of the Custom-house and the (comparatively) new Post Office.

When opportunity offered, permission was obtained to make a few confirmatory excavations within the old fort precincts, under Mr. Bayne's supervision, and in October, 1883, the Black Hole, cleared to floor-level, was brought to light with its enclosing and verandah walls[1] and their pillars; it was only necessary to imagine those built up to their recorded height, and the roof put on, to see the actual chamber as described by Holwell and Orme, on the floor of which we were standing. Looked at thus, the cell seemed somewhat narrower and longer—*i.e.*, more an oblong than a square—than one would gather from the evidence of its contemporaries.

The excavation was allowed to remain open for some short time, and attracted very numerous visitors and received much popular attention. The Government of Bengal with ready interest sympathized in the generally-felt desire that so very historical a site should be marked, and directed that what, for the present, was considered the most practicable thing under the circumstances should be done—namely, that as the roadway under which the chamber lay was essential to the Post Office traffic, the excavation should be filled in and decently paved over with granite, and that a tablet bearing this inscription should be placed on the most convenient spot near:

'The stone pavement close to this marks the position and size of the prison cell in Old Fort William, known in history as the Black Hole of Calcutta.'

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[1] Only three of the boundaries of the cell were seen, as the fourth (the southern) would be just under a portion of the Post Office building. One only of the walls, the eastern (curtain), was purposely uncovered to any depth; this was found coated with smooth white plaster (which quickly became the prey of relic hunters). There were two concrete floors uncovered; the lower one seemed to have been liable to inundation, as what looked like river sal was found on it—a circumstance which perhaps led to its having been raised at some time by several inches (H. E. B.)

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Site of Holwell's Monument.

The bodies of those who perished in the Black Hole were buried outside the fort in the ditch of the ravelin, so we are told by the chief survivor and the historian of the tragedy, who erected at his own expense a monument to their memory. Old maps show it, and Lord Valentia alludes to it as facing the gate—*i.e.*, the main gateway which was in the eastern curtain.

As the monument was presumably erected as near as possible to where the bodies were interred, the ravelin was probably an earthwork covering the gate.

There is no record that I know of to show in what year the monument was put up. Holwell carried home the despatches of the retaking of Calcutta by Clive and Admiral Watson in 1757, and returned to India in the following year, retiring finally in September, 1760, having been temporary Governor for six months in the interval. The monument was probably erected in the latter year. Such importance did Governor Holwell, as he was afterwards styled, attach to this incident in his life, that he subsequently had his full-length portrait taken (by Sir Joshua Reynolds, his descendants think) in the act of supervising the construction of the monument, a plan of which he is represented as holding.

A popular impression prevailed that the monument indicated the site of the actual Black Hole ; indeed, I can vouch for the more or less general currency of this belief in Calcutta up to quite recent years.

Why such an historical monument should have been taken down in 1821 must now, I fear, be left to conjecture. For some years a belief seems to have been current in Calcutta that it was removed out of deference to the wish of the Marquis of Hastings, who, tradition alleges, considered that its continuance had become politically undesirable, either as likely to wound the sensibilities of our native fellow-subjects, or to recall too prominently at the seat of Government a hideous disaster to British arms, which it would be wiser to locally bury in oblivion. I have been quite unable to trace the origin or growth of this popular impression. The strong probability, I think, is that the Governor-General of the day got in after-years the credit (or the odium?) of an incident which happened during his tenure of office.

As this is a point which should, if possible, have some light thrown on it, if only out of respect for an opinion even vaguely attributed to the head of the Government at the time, I have looked through the only local newspapers of 1821 which are available in Calcutta, to try and learn what the general voice had to say in the matter, and have come across two allusions to the subject in the *Calcutta Journal*.[1]

So far as they go, these extracts show that, even at the moment when public feeling was exercised at the removal of the old monument, there was no expression of belief that the Marquis of Hastings had any personal connection with the matter. The Governor-General's name was, at a later date possibly, unfairly associated with the disappearance of an historic memorial, when a

[1] Dr. Busteed quotes the two extracts from the *Calcutta Journal* for April 6 and April 11, 1821, already given above.

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reason, or rather excuse, was sought for an act of vandalism for which Calcutta might well have felt ashamed.

Simpler reasons will perhaps account for the demolition. In all probability the founder of the monument omitted to provide funds for keeping it in repair: during the closing year of his life in England he was too poor to do so, as he fell into pecuniary difficulties; the maintenance of his monument was therefore anybody's business, with the proverbial result. Tradition says that it had been struck by lightning; *Britannus* testifies to 'its dark and weather-beaten appearance'; the French traveller thinks it mournful. We may infer that it had become unsightly, and that it was pronounced to be *too* monumental for a principal thoroughfare in the heart of a city, even then pluming itself upon its palaces; then the recent razing to the ground of the old fort suggested that the monument so associated with its fortunes might appropriately share its fate. Very probably our predecessors intended to save the original tablets as some *amende* for neglect followed by deplorable activity; but even this would seem to have been ultimately omitted or forgotten, as I am enabled to say that every effort possible to try and trace what had become of them was made in vain some three or four years ago.

The newspaper extracts also exemplify the popular inaccuracies regarding the position and object of the monument. It was not 'over the Black Hole'; it was not 'raised by the piety of a better generation,' but by that of one man. It was not a tribute to the memory of 'the few British inhabitants in Bengal who met a tragic fate,' but to that of all those,[1] with no distinction of race or colour, who did their duty in defending their fortress to the last, and who came by a terrible death in the presence of 'their surviving fellow-sufferer.'

These are the comrades, soldiers and citizens, black as well as white, whose

[1] The following is the heading of Holwell's enumeration of the sufferers as given in his narrative: 'List of the smothered in the Black Hole Prison, exclusive of sixty-nine (consisting of Dutch and English sergeants, corporals, soldiers, topazes, militia, whites, and Portuguese, whose names I am unacquainted with), making, on the whole, one hundred and twenty-three persons.' In his list of the survivors he gives eleven names, and adds 'twelve Military and militia blacks and whites, some of whom recovered when the door was open.' It is clear, therefore, that a considerable number of those in the prison were natives of this country. As he could only name fifty-two of the deaths, the unnamed should be put down at seventy-one instead of sixty-nine to make up the full number. It must have been by an oversight on the part of the sculptor that four of the names which Holwell prints in his list were omitted on the monument—viz., three sergeants of militia, named Abraham, Cartwright, Bleau, and one of the 'gentlemen in the service,' whose name Holwell gives as Bing, spelled with an *i* instead of *y*. Robert Byng was intended. In the very month—June, 1756—that an order went from England to Gibraltar to arrest and bring home Admiral John Byng to his trial and execution at Portsmouth, his young nephew gave up his life in defending Calcutta. If a slab bearing the names, etc., be ultimately put up in the church or elsewhere, these four omitted names should, I think, be added (H. E. B.).

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memories Holwell wished to honour, and whose names, so far as he could recall them, he hoped to hand down, in this city at least, to well-earned respect. The trust thus bequeathed and accepted, though unfortunately lost sight of for a time by Calcutta, is not to be forgotten. The Bengal Government, which so promptly responded to the general wish to mark the site of the Black Hole when recently brought to notice, has under consideration the propriety, and the most feasible way, of now appropriately securing the recognition of the other historic sight so mournfully associated with it, and of locally perpetuating the main object of Holwell's monument.

H. E. BUSTEED.

CALCUTTA,
The 28th April, 1886.

373. DR. BUSTEED ASKS WHETHER ANYTHING WILL BE DONE TO COMMEMORATE THE BLACK HOLE.

Extract from a Letter from Dr. Busteed to Mr. E. J. Martin, Chief Engineer, April 19, 1889.

MY DEAR MARTIN,—I have said elsewhere all that I can say on this subject, so I need but allude to it here. When I left India, there was some vague idea that, amongst the architectural improvements in Calcutta (with which your name is so associated), would before long be a new frontage between the Post Office and the Custom House (facing Dalhousie Square), connected, I believe, with some necessary alterations in the opium godowns or the buildings adjacent thereto; and it was believed that this would afford some opportunity for replacing the Black Hole slab, at present over the Post Office gateway, in a position better suited to it, and in alliance with some monumental structure to be put up in place of Holwell's monument, which was shamefully allowed by a previous generation to go to destruction. What I would ask you is whether there is any ground to hope for this idea being ever accomplished? Or if not, whether it is even likely that a copy of the slab on the old monument which carried the names of the Black Hole sufferers will ever be placed in St. John's Cathedral? Lord Dufferin, I remember, told me one day that he felt a strong interest that something in the direction indicated should be done, and he asked me to write to him about it.

Yours very sincerely,

H. E. BUSTEED.

E. J. MARTIN, Esq.

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374. Proceedings in connection with the Site of the Black Hole, 1883 to 1889.

Extracts from an Office Note by Mr. R. Halfhide, February 16, 1890.

At the monthly meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held in January, 1883, a paper was read by Mr. R. R. Bayne, C.E., of the East Indian Railway, giving an account of the excavations made in putting in the foundations of the new East Indian Railway office building, and of most interesting remains of Old Fort William exposed during the excavations. The whole of the north curtain wall with the north-east bastion, and part of the east and west curtain walls of the Old Fort, were uncovered, and their exact position and dimensions carefully mapped and recorded. Other parts of the Old Fort mentioned in contemporary histories, such as the carpenters' shop, were also exposed. Taking these uncovered portions as starting-points, and making use of the measurements and drawings in Orme's 'History of the War in Bengal,' Mr. Bayne was able to deduce, with tolerable certainty, the exact site of the remaining portions of the Fort, including the Black Hole, and also the position of the old river walls.

In the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Bayne's paper, Mr. Bayne pointed out that a few further excavations, costing about Rs. 300, would suffice to determine completely all that then remained unknown of the site of the Black Hole and the other parts of the Old Fort. A general feeling was expressed, in which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who was present, concurred, that the Society should move the Government of Bengal to make the necessary grant and have the excavations indicated by Mr. Bayne undertaken. The Society therefore addressed the Bengal Government on the subject.[1]

Mr. Bayne also stated that a 10-inch water-pipe was about to be laid down through the Custom-house compound, and that it would pass through the east entrance gate of the Old Fort or through the east and west curtains and across the foundations of the Governor's house. The Society said that much important information might be gained by carefully noting what was uncovered during the laying of this pipe.

[1] Letter No. 37, dated January 13, 1883

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It was suggested by the Society that the site of the north-east bastion of the Old Fort, which had been uncovered by Mr. Bayne when putting in the foundations of the Railway office, should be marked with a tablet, and that, when the further excavations proposed had rendered the exact position of all parts of the Old Fort perfectly clear, memorial tablets be put up marking the most interesting spots.

The Superintendent of Works was directed to make such excavations and erect such marks, in communication with Mr. Bayne, as he might consider feasible, the cost of the work being limited to Rs. 300. At the same time he was informed that the suggestion to keep a note of the excavation to be made through the Custom-house compound for the laying of the 10-inch pipe was approved and should be acted on.[1]

The excavations were commenced in January, 1883, and in October the Black Hole, cleared to floor-level, was brought to light with its enclosing and verandah walls and their pillars under a portion of the road inside the eastern gate of the General Post Office enclosure. Only three of the boundaries of the cell were uncovered, as the fourth or southern boundary would be just under a portion of the Post Office building.[2] It was decided to fill in the excavation, placing a stone pavement above so arranged as to show the position and breadths of the walls underneath, and to fix a marble slab on the wall of the Post Office as near as possible to the pavement with the following inscription:

'The stone pavement close to this marks the position and size of the prison cell in Old Fort William known in history as the "Black Hole of Calcutta."'

This was done in 1884, the marble slab bearing the inscription being placed over the Post Office gate. . . .

Mr. Bayne proposed to erect a marble structure with a copper dome, a sketch of which was furnished by him, on the Black Hole site, to fulfil the double purpose of marking the site of the Black Hole and of commemorating its victims; but he subsequently changed his opinion and agreed with Dr. Busteed that in the fitness of things these two objects should, if found practicable, be

[1] Letter No. 302, M.P.I., dated January 25, 1883.

[2] Letter No. 270, M.P.I., dated January 30, 1884, to the Superintendent of Works.

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kept separate—*i.e.*, that any memorial tablet or any erection of a monumental nature should be placed, not over the spot where the remnant of the defenders of the Old Fort met their death, but over the place where their bodies were returned to earth. Colonel Heywood also noted that any monument erected over the Black Hole itself would block up the road in the Post Office and necessitate alterations and the demolition of some of the out-houses, which would entail considerable expense.

In his letter of the 28th April, 1884, Dr. Busteed informed Colonel Trevor that Mr. Bayne had fixed a tablet in the wall of the East Indian Railway office building to mark the north-west bastion of the Old Fort, and that he had proposed to place an inscription on it indicating what spot and boundary it marked, and an outline sketch of the Old Fort as found and deduced by him. . . .

Dr. Busteed suggests in his letter, dated the 19th April, 1889, that, if the proposed new Stamps and Stationary Office and the new Collectorate are erected on the site between the Post Office and the Custom House, it would afford some opportunity for replacing the Black Hole slab, which is at present over the gateway, in a position better suited to it.

When the excavations for the foundations of the new Stamps and Stationary Office and the new Collectorate which it is proposed to erect in a portion of the Custom House premises are being made, a note may be kept of what is uncovered.

375. Proceedings in connection with the Site of the Holwell Monument, 1883 to 1889.

Extracts from an Office Note by Mr. R. Halfhide, February 17, 1890.

The bodies of those who perished in the Black Hole were buried outside the Fort, in the ditch of the unfinished ravelin, which was an earthwork hurriedly thrown up to cover the main gate. The monument was presumably erected as near as possible to where the bodies were thrown in. Old maps show it, and Lord Valentia alludes to it, as facing the gateway—*i.e.*, that in the eastern curtain. There is no record to show in what year the monument was erected, but it appears to have been constructed by Mr. Holwell

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before he left India in 1760. It was dismantled and removed in 1821, but the reason for doing this is not known. . . .

Mr. Bayne, in his letter dated the 20th November, 1883, to Dr. Busteed, said that he had found from information given in the Calcutta Journal of 1819 that the site of the original monument was still more to the east and south than he had conjectured. . . .

At the same time Mr. Bayne asked that permission might be obtained to look within the railings of the Dalhousie Square for the ravelin ditch and the monument. This request was referred to the Chairman of the Corporation for consideration.[1]

Dr. Busteed stated, in his letter of the 21st November, 1883, that he had no hesitation in expressing his conviction, in which Mr. Bayne concurred, that the most correct thing to do would be to re-erect in stone Holwell's monument as nearly in its old place as possible, even if a corner of the square enclosure had to be appropriated. This proposal was placed before Sir Rivers Thompson, and Dr. Busteed was informed that the Lieutenant-Governor considered that it would interfere too much with the traffic to place a monument on the site where he and Mr. Bayne believed the bodies were actually buried; also that the best site would be that of the lamp-post.[2]

Subsequently, in his letter of the 28th April, 1884, Dr. Busteed suggested that the foundations of the old monument might be excavated for and its position marked with a slab only, which would not interfere with traffic, and that in a suitable spot near it, away from the line of the tramway, some neat simple erection might be put up, if only no larger than to becomingly carry a *facsimile* of the tablet on the old monument. . . .[3]

Four small pits were dug in the roadway near the tangent point of the tramway curve, at the place indicated in Mr. Bayne's sketch, but nothing was found, and the Government grant was spent fruitlessly. Major Bigg-Wither then, in conversation with gentlemen who took an interest in the work, one of whom, the Honourable W. W. Hunter, offered to defray the cost of another set of excavations, Dr. Busteed unfortunately being in England, learnt that the

[1] Letter No. 3158, M.P.I., dated December 12, 1883.
[2] Colonel Heywood's letter, dated November 29, 1883.
[3] Letter to the Superintendent of Works, No. 963, M.P.I., dated May 26, 1884.

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more likely place was more to the south. Excavations were recommenced, and after being led astray into much useless digging by an old aqueduct which was met with, a platform of brickwork, originally apparently about 12 feet square, was discovered about 6 feet below the level of the foot-path. Major Bigg-Wither thought that this was the platform of Holwell's monument, and he had a brick pillar built up from it in order to permanently record the place.[1]

Some doubts were expressed as to the correctness of the position of the monument which was fixed by Major Bigg-Wither, and the Superintendent of Works was requested in April, 1886, to take steps, in consultation with Dr. Busteed and Mr. Bayne, to verify that position by excavating and laying bare the brick platform. If after thus further inspecting the platform there was any doubt about it, Colonel Neill was authorized to make such further exploration as appeared to be necessary to determine the correct position of the monument.[2]

Both Dr. Busteed and Mr. Bayne were convinced that the position fixed by Major Bigg-Wither was not the site of Holwell's monument, as the remains found were on too small and insignificant a scale for a base over 30 feet square with truncated corners. The excavations showed that the ditch of the ravelin was on each side of the tramway lines. . . . Dr. Busteed and Mr. Bayne were of opinion that the site was where the tramway lines cross, or, if the monument was built within the ditch, where the 'fountain' lamp-post then stood, and where Sir Ashley Eden's statue now stands. It was not probable that the monument was built over the fosse, because the foundations would necessarily have disturbed the bodies buried therein. The search for the Fort entrance was a failure, as the old walls were so cut about with new or later buildings that, with a few feet only opened, nothing could be settled. Mr. Bayne said that he awaited the erection of Sir Ashley Eden's statue in the place of the lamp-post, as it would afford a good opportunity of deciding if Holwell's monument had been erected there.[3]

[1] Letter from Superintendent of Works, No. 1023, dated March 17, 1885.

[2] Letter No. 821, M.P.I., dated April 13, 1886.

[3] Letter from the Superintendent of Works, No. 2019, dated August 9, 1886, enclosing a copy of Mr. Bayne's notes.

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Sir Ashley Eden's statue has since been erected on the site of the lamp-post, but no report has been submitted to this office as to whether an excavation was made in order to ascertain if this was the site of Holwell's monument. . . .

Lord and Lady Dufferin visited the site of the Black Hole, and Dr. Busteed pointed out to their Excellencies the place where it was conjectured Holwell's monument stood. . . . Dr. Busteed stated in his letter, dated the 8th April, 1886, that His Excellency would be glad to see the site which Holwell commemorated at all events indicated, and the names which he tried to hand down still respectfully preserved. Subsequently Dr. Busteed sent a note on the sites of the Black Hole and Holwell's monument to the Viceroy's Private Secretary, informing him at the same time that what had stood in the way of marking the site of Holwell's monument was the difficulty of being able to say exactly where it actually stood. . . .

Another letter, dated the 19th April, 1889, has been received from Dr. Busteed, in which he inquires whether there is any ground to hope that some monumental structure will be erected in the place of Holwell's monument, or, if not, whether it is even likely that a copy of the slab on the old monument which bore the names of the Black Hole sufferers will ever be placed in St. John's Church.

The exact site of the monument has not yet been found, and it appears doubtful if any further excavations for the purpose would be of any use. . . .

Apparently by an oversight on the part of the sculptor, four of the names which Holwell printed in his list were omitted on the monument, viz., three sergeants of militia, named Abraham, Cartwright, Bleau, and one of the 'gentlemen in the service,' whose name Holwell gives as Bing, spelled with an *i* instead of *y*, Robert Byng being intended. Dr. Busteed is of opinion that these four omitted names should be added in the copy.[1]

[1] Dr. Busteed's note, dated April 28, 1886, on the sites of the Black Hole and Holwell's monument.

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376. Design for a Memorial of the Black Hole, by Mr. E. J. Martin.

Extract from a Letter from Mr. E. J. Martin to Sir Steuart C. Bayley, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, February 26, 1890.

In 1885 I prepared a rough design for a memorial gateway to replace the present north-east gateway leading into the Post Office enclosure, having for its apex or covering feature a model of Holwell's monument half full size. It will be seen from the accompanying pencil plan that the gateway would stand close to the site of the Black Hole; and, as the exact position of Holwell's monument cannot be found, the proposed memorial gateway would, I think, answer the purpose of the monumental structure referred to by Dr. Busteed. If this suggestion meets with approval, the drawings can be completed and an estimate of cost prepared.

Yours sincerely,

E. J. Martin.

377. Proposal to place a Slab in St. John's Church commemorating the Victims of the Black Hole.

Extract from a Letter from Mr. E. J. Martin, Chief Engineer, to the Archdeacon of Calcutta. Calcutta, March 21, 1890.

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to send you the enclosed printed notes on the subject of the 'Black Hole' of Calcutta, and to ask the sanction of the Most Reverend His Lordship the Bishop for permission to a *fac-simile* (with certain alterations) of the slab on the old monument erected by Mr. Holwell, which bore the names of the 'Black Hole' sufferers, being placed in St. John's Church. . . .

May I request that you will be good enough to lay the matter before the Bishop for His Lordship's consideration? Successive Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors have been desirous of doing something to commemorate the historical events connected with the Black Hole, and it is considered that the erection of a slab in St. John's Church, the old Cathedral of Calcutta, is the most appropriate way of attaining the desired object. It is the form of memorial that commends itself to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

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378. Excavations in 1891 and 1892.

Extracts from a Paper on the Topography of Old Fort William, by C. R. Wilson, M.A., 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' 1893, Vol. LXII., Part I., No. 2, pp. 104-127.

In the present paper I propose to lay before the Society the results of certain excavations made during the last four months of the year 1891 and the first four months of the year 1892, on the site of old Fort William, Calcutta.

These are not the first excavations which have been made at this spot. In 1883 Mr. R. R. Bayne, while erecting the East India Railway Offices in Fairlie Place, came across considerable portions of the old fort walls. He reported his discoveries to the Society in a paper which will be found in the Journal for 1883, Vol. LII., Part I., No. 2.

The general position of the old fort with its adjacent warehouses is well known. It stood on the ground now occupied by the General Post Office, the New Government Offices, the Custom House, and the East India Railway House The warehouses built along the south side of the fort skirted Khoila Ghat Street. The north side was in Fairlie Place. The east front looked out on Clive Street and Dalhousie Square. Behind it was the river, which then flowed further east than at present.

The Old Fort.

The fort was in shape an irregular tetragon. Its walls were built of small thin bricks strongly cemented together. According to Orme, 'its sides, to the east and west, extended 210 yards, the southern side 130, and the northern side 100. It had four bastions, mounting each ten guns. The curtains were 4 feet thick, and like the factory of Cossimbazar, terraces, which were the roofs of chambers, formed the top of the ramparts; and windows belonging to these chambers were in several places opened in the curtains. The gateway on the eastern side projected, and mounted five guns—three in front and one on each flank towards the bastions. Under the western face, and on the brink of the river, was a line of heavy cannon mounted in embrasures of solid masonry; and this work was joined to the two western bastions by two slender walls, in each of which was

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a gate of pallisadoes. In the year 1747, warehouses had been built contiguous to the southern curtain, and, projecting on the outside, between the two bastions, rendered them useless to one another. However, the terraces of these warehouses were strong enough to bear the firing of three pounders which were mounted in barbett over a slight parapet.' There were also blocks of central buildings within the fort. It had two gates on the river side besides that on the east front.

Mr. Bayne's Discoveries.

When, in 1883, Mr. R. R. Bayne began to dig at the corner of Fairlie Place for the purpose of laying down the foundations of the East India Railway House, he almost immediately came across remains of old walls built of small thin bricks such as have long ceased to be used. These were the walls of the old fort. Mr. Bayne followed up the indications thus found, and in the end was able to put together an almost complete ground-plan of the north end of the fort. As a detailed description of these discoveries has been already placed before the Society, it will be quite unnecessary for me to attempt to give any further account of them here. Nor do I wish at present to offer any criticisms upon the suggestions and theories which naturally occurred to Mr. Bayne in connection with his discoveries. I shall at once proceed to set forth the results which have been obtained since 1883 by a persistent search of the records and by recent excavations made on the spot.

Mr. Munro's Discovery.

The first great step towards completing the work so well begun by Mr. R. R. Bayne was taken by Mr. T. R. Munro, who discovered in the British Museum a copy of a large map of old Calcutta on the scale of 100 ft. = 1 in., dated 1753. The map, it appears, was drawn by a Lieutenant Wells of the Company's Artillery, and was designed to show a projected new fort, but it also shows the old fort in great detail. A photograph of this plan was presented to the Asiatic Society in 1889 by Mr. Munro, and it is with this photograph in my hands that I have been able to carry out extensive excavations of the site of the old fort in the

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years 1891 and 1892, and thus complete the work of defining the topography of the place. The plan, it is true, is not quite accurate, but it is infinitely superior to the little rough sketch of the fort found in Orme's history, which was all Mr. Bayne had to go upon.

The Records.

The plan suggested a further searching of the records, both here and at home, to see if they could cast any further light either upon the plan itself, or on the projected new fort of 1753, or on the state of the old fort generally. Through the kindness of Mr. Forrest, I was enabled to see such records bearing on the subject as are now preserved in the Imperial Library at Calcutta, but I found that they were very meagre. Dr. Busteed, however, most generously devoted a considerable amount of his valuable time to looking up the records at home, and has furnished me with a complete list of all the passages to be found in the extant records which have any bearing whatever on the old fort, and on the question of improving it, or superseding it, which seems to have been so often discussed during the four or five years which preceded the tragedy of the Black Hole. These extracts are provokingly incomplete. They refer to fuller documents, but these fuller documents are not now forthcoming, having been all destroyed. Four plans are mentioned, *viz.*, Colonel Scott's, Captain Jones's, Simson's and Plaisted's, but none of these could be found by Dr. Busteed at the India Office. It is only by some lucky chance that a duplicate copy of Scott's or Wells's plan found its way into the King's library at the British Museum. . . .

Wells's Plan of the Fort.

I may now pass on to describe Wells's plan of the fort, to which frequent allusion has been made in the foregoing extracts, and of which I give a facsimile (Plate VI.).[1] The plan is preserved in the British Museum, having found its way there from the King's library. It is endorsed 'No 11 Duplicate Plan of Fort William and part of Calcutta by Wm. Wells under Col. Scott drawn in 1753'; and again in another part: 'Received per Dunnington, 10th October, 1754.' The object of the plan is to show the new fort

[1] Plate VII. of the present work.

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which Col. Scott projected in 1753, but it incidentally shows the old fort in considerable detail, the scale being 100 ft. = 1 in. Looking at the plan, we recognise at once the irregular tetragon with its four bastions, (α, β, γ, δ,) each having embrasures for ten guns. The north curtain here measures 210 ft., the south curtain 356 ft., the east 546, the west 560. The fort has three gates: ϵ the east gate, ζ the main south river gate, and η the smaller north river gate through which Suráj-ud-daula entered the fort. θ is the mound of the great flag-staff, ι is the passage joining the northern and southern divisions of the fort. $\kappa\lambda\mu\nu o\pi$ are the series of rooms south of the east gate, of which the southernmost should be the Black Hole. ξ is the staircase to the south-east bastion α. ρ is the verandah in front of the chambers $\kappa\lambda\mu\nu o\pi$. σ is the landing stage on which was placed the Company's crane. τ is the river wall armed with cannon and protected where necessary with palisades shown as dotted lines. Within the fort is a large central block of buildings marked in the plan as 'The Factorey.' Hamilton calls this the Governor's House, and I prefer to use this name to indicate it, as 'the factorey' is more commonly used to denote the whole fort. At the same time it must be remembered that the Governor did not live here in 1753, but in the Company's House on the south side of the fort, although he still retained some rooms or offices in the south-east wing of the building for his own use. Adjoining the south-east bastion, we see the Export and Import Warehouses which, as Orme tells us, were added in 1747. Holwell speaks of them as the new, or colta, warehouses. The roofs was strong enough to carry cannon, and the south-east corner of the warehouses when thus armed seems to have been dignified with the title of the New S. E. Bastion.[1] The east gate (ϵ) was also armed with five cannon.

[1] Holwell alludes to the new south-east bastion several times in his long letter to the Court of Directors. In Section 40 he says: 'That [outpost] to the eastward at the Court House you will find commanded by the battery over the E. Gate, and from the old and new South-east bastions within musket shot.' And again: 'The whole square between the south face of the fort and the hospital and gate of the burying-ground was commanded not only by the New South-east bastion, but by seven 4-pounders on the new godowns.' In Section 48 he says: 'Accordingly prepared with the flag [of truce] on the original S.-E. bastion where Captan Buchanan was then posted.'

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The warehouse yard is separated from another yard to the west of it by a small zigzag wall. This yard (ω) was, I conjecture, the carpenters' yard, since it is next to the warehouses, and is conveniently situated with reference to the river. As regards the buildings on the north side of the fort, mentioned in Simson's letter of 25th February, 1756, I conjecture that $\phi\,\phi$ are the lodgings occupied by the young gentlemen in the Company's service, and that χ, the central building in the north division of the fort, is the armoury. The former conjecture is supported by the very nature of the ground-plan of the buildings, the latter by the fact that when Mr. R. R. Bayne uncovered the foundations of χ in 1883 he found close by it pieces vitrified as if from a forge. The laboratory was situated in the east curtain[1] and must have been one of the rooms $\psi\,\psi$. Generally the plan has every mark of care and accuracy, and, as regards the northern portion of the fort agrees fairly well with what Mr. Bayne discovered in 1883. There is only one suspicious circumstance to be noted here. The north and south alignment of the Governor's House is not parallel to the east curtain. This is, *primâ facie*, an improbable arrangement.

History of the Recent Excavations.

In the year 1891, all the buildings between the General Post Office and the Custom House were pulled down and the ground dug up for the purpose of laying the foundations of the new Government Offices, Dalhousie Square. As before in 1883, so now, the excavations revealed remains of the strangely fashioned walls of thin brickwork which had once formed part of the old fort. In particular, the curiosity of the public was much excited by the discovery of a small rectangular chamber faced with hard cement standing in the midst of four larger walls, which looked down grimly on it.

At the beginning of September, 1891, having made myself

[1] I learn this fact from Dr. Busteed, who has furnished me with the following extract from a letter written by Holwell to Bombay, July 17, 1756, when just released, from 'Muradabad': 'The 20th in the morning the enemy formed three assaults at once, against the N.-W. bastion, against the N.-W. Futtoch or barrier, and against the windows of the Laboratory on the eastern curtain, and attempted to scale the North-West window.'

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acquainted with the main features of the old fort, I went down to see the excavations. Almost the first thing I did was to measure the small rectangular chamber and the space between the larger walls which surrounded it. The small chamber measured east and west 9 ft. 9 in.; the distance between the thick walls east and west was 14 ft. 10 in. These measurements and the general appearance of the walls convinced me that the thick wall on the east was the curtain wall of the fort, that the wall on the west was the wall parallel to the curtain built for the purpose of containing the chambers running along that side of the fort, and that the smaller plastered chamber was a strong-room or godown.

I next identified the remains of the east gate. The walls had been much cut away by the excavations, but enough remained to show their true nature. Moreover, on measuring the distance from the spot where these walls stood to the record plate marking the north-east angle of the fort as determined by Mr. Bayne, I found that it agreed fairly well with the measurements given in the plan.

This discovery of the true position of the east gate was most important, because it settled finally one of the chief disputed points in the topography of the old fort, and it at once became the starting-point for further investigations and discoveries. The value and significance of the excavations now became clear to me. If this was the east gate, then the mutilated fragments of brickwork I had just been touching and measuring were all that remained of the well-known court of guard, barracks and Black Hole spoken of by Orme and Holwell. West of them was the parade ground where the soldiers of Suráj-ud-daula had been drawn up to keep guard over their captives, and west of this, again, I should find the foundations of the Governor's House in the Fort. On advancing westward to a distance of about 110 ft. from the east curtain, the walls of the south-east wing of the Governor's House were readily discovered; and after a certain amount of careful excavation its leading features were all ascertained. Meanwhile I was anxiously trying to fix the position of the south curtain wall and the three lines of arches shown in the plan running parallel to the south curtain. The tradition has always been that the old arcade in the yard of the General Post

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Office was part of the old fort, and although Mr. Bayne had argued that this could not be the case, I felt convinced that tradition was right. I was, however, for a long time baffled in my efforts to prove the truth of the tradition, owing to the fact that the actual distances between the lines of the arches of the arcade and the corner of the north-east wing of the factory, which had been discovered, could not be made to agree with the distances shown in the plan between that corner and the lines of arches along the south curtain. It was only after a good deal of excavation that the true position of the south curtain was established, and it became evident that the south face of the old arcade is part of the first line of arches within the curtain, that the pillars in the centre of the arcade belong to the second line of arches, and the north side of the arcade is on the alignment of the third and innermost line of arches.

The settling of this difficulty necessarily led to a further set of investigations. If these were the real positions of the south curtain wall and of the lines of arches within it, it followed that the plan was inaccurate in its representation of this part of the fort. Hence doubts naturally arose as to whether the plan was correct when it represented the east curtain wall as inclined at an angle to the north and south alignment of the Governor's House. It could not but seem more likely that they were parallel. To determine this point, excavations were made in the yard of the Custom House, and by this means the main outlines of the north-east wing of the factory, and also the north and south alignment of the main building, were ascertained. Here, too, it turned out that the plan was incorrect.

From this point the work of excavation was comparatively easy. Further investigations cleared up all that was obscure about the south curtain wall, and fixed the position of the block of buildings running east and west, dividing the fort into two sections.

The plan given in Plate VII. gives the combined results of the excavations made in 1883 and in 1891. It shows the existing buildings on the site, and over them the old fort is drawn. The walls of the darkest tint are the walls discovered by me; those of a ligher tint are walls discovered by Mr. R. R. Bayne. The still

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lighter tint indicates walls whose position has not yet been verified. In indexing the plan for reference I have tried to follow a uniform system.

The Governor's House in the Fort.

I shall now describe the different portions of the fort which have been discovered in 1891, and I shall begin with 'The Factorey' or 'the Governor's House in the fort,' which Hamilton describes is 'the best and most regular piece of architecture that I ever saw in *India*.' I have dug up as much of the foundations of this 'Piece of Architecture' as was possible without disturbing the existing buildings. I think it merits Hamilton's praise. The walls were undoubtedly strong and well built; the shape of the building is regular, and suggests the quadrangle of a college. The main building (*OPQWVT*) faced the river. Its length north and south was 245 ft.[1] In the centre of this face was the great gate of the Governor's House, and from it a colonnade ran down to the south water gate of the fort and the principal landing stage. This was the way by which Governor Drake escaped to the ships in 1756. Entering this gate, and turning to your left, you ascended the great flight of stairs which led, I conjecture, to the hall and the principal rooms. At right angles to the main building, and at each end of it, were wings running back towards the east curtain. Thus these north-east and south-east wings, together with the main building, formed three sides of a rectangle having a raised cloister or piazza running all along the three sides. In the centre, I imagine, was a green grass plat. The south-east wing contained the apartments of the governor, and the factors probably had rooms in different parts of the building. Almost the whole of the ground on which the main building stood is at present occupied with Government godowns. A trench was, however, dug from east to west in the passage between the opium godowns and the import godowns, and this enabled me to determine the positions of the principal walls, which were uncovered at the places marked $p\ p_1\ p_2$. The wall $p\ p_1$ is one of the cross walls of the Governor's House forming the north side of the grand staircase.

[1] There are at least two or three views given in old prints of the west face of this building.

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It is three feet thick. At p it meets the west wall of the Governor's House, which is 3 ft. 9 in. thick; at p_1 it meets the east wall of the principal building (PV), which is 4 ft. 6 in. thick. The internal distance between these two walls is 30 ft. 9 in. At p' the cross wall $p\,p_1$ meets on its south side an inner wall 3 ft. thick, parallel to the main west wall of the building, and at p'_1 it meets a similar wall 3 ft. 9 in. thick. The internal distance between the main west wall and the inner parallel wall at p' is 10 ft. 3 in.; the internal distance between the inner wall at p' and the next one at p'_1 is only 6 ft. 9 in. These inner walls doubtless served to support the grand staircase. The inner wall at p'_1 intersects the cross wall $p\,p_1$, and continues on the north side of it. I do not know the reason of this. The wall $O_2p_2R_2$ is the wall which supported the columns of the cloister, or verandah, which ran round the inside of the quadrangle of the Governor's House. It has been uncovered from p_2 to R_2, where it turns to run along the inside of the north-east wing. The wall $O_2p_2R_2$ is 2 ft. 6 in. thick, with an offset of 6 in. at the points where it actually supported the pillars of the cloister. The distance between the pillars of the west cloister, from centre to centre, was 10 ft. 6 in. At p_3, 4 ft. 6 in. from p_2, I found a piece of a small wall 1 ft. 6 in. thick. This wall contained the raised terrace on which the cloister stood. There is also at p_2 a wall $p_2\,p'_2$ which bonds with the wall $R_2p_2O_2$, and which runs back towards, but does not meet, the east wall of the main building PV. The purpose served by this wall $p_2\,p'_2$ is not clear.

Excavations were also made to find the north-west corner of the factory (W) and the north-east wing (SRR_2S_2). The north-west corner (W) was readily found. The walls here are 3 ft. 6 in. thick. From W the north wall of the factory continues in a straight line for a distance of 50 ft. 3 in., outside measurement, to V. Here it is set back 3 ft. 6 in. From this point (U) the wall again runs on in a straight line for a distance of 18 ft. to T, where it is set back 4 ft. 9 in. ($TR = 4$ ft. 9 in.), and thence continues as the north wall of the north-east wing (RSS_2R_2). The wall $WVURS$ is throughout 3 ft. 6 in. thick. V, the point where this wall is first set back, is the north-east corner of the main building, where the wall WV meets the wall VP. The second

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set-back occurs at the point where the wall *UT* meets the wall TRR_1, which runs parallel to *VP* and forms the east wall of the staircase on this side of the building. The wall *TRR* is 3 ft. 6 in. thick and 36 ft. long. Wells's plan shows a kind of projection or porch *VV'T'T* against the wall *UT*, but of this I found no trace.

RS, the main north wall of the north-east wing, is 3 ft. 6 in. thick and 61 ft. long. Parallel to it, and of the same length, are the walls R_1S_1, R_2S_2. R_1S_1 is the inner wall containing the apartments in the north-east wing of the Governor's House. It is 3 ft. 6 in. thick, and is distant 21 ft. 9 in., internal measurement, from *RS*. The remains of SS_1, the east wall of this wing, are completely buried beneath the Custom House. The smaller walls rr_1 (2 feet thick), qq_1, ss_1 (each 2 ft. 9 in. thick), divide off the space between *RS* and R_1S_1. The internal distance between SS_1 and ss_1 is 13 ft. 6 in.; between ss_1 and qq_1 it is 16 ft. 3 in.; between qq_1 and rr_1 it is 13 ft. 6 in.; between rr_1 and RR_1 it is 6 ft. R_2S_2 is the foundation wall carrying the arches of the north cloister. It is 41 ft. distant, internal measurement, from *RS*.[1] Where it directly supported the pillars of the cloisters it is 4 ft. 6 in. thick; elsewhere it is 3 ft. 6 in. thick.

Other excavations were made on the site of the south-east wing of the factory (LL_2O_2O), in which the Governor's apartments were situated, and considerable remains of its walls were discovered. The east wall of this wing, LL_1L_2, was traced out, as also portions of the south main wall of the wing *LO*, the inner wall containing the apartments L_1O_1, and the wall carrying the pillars of the south cloister L_2L_2. These walls are all 4 ft. thick. The distance of L_1O_1 from *LO* is 17 ft. 6 in., and that of L_2O_2 from L_1O_1 is 35 ft. At the corner of this wing, 17 ft. 6 in. south of *L*, stood an isolated pillar 3 ft. square, *L'*. There is also a projecting chamber, *MNN'M'*, built out against the main wall *LO*, the walls of which are 3 ft. thick; *LM* measures 11 ft. 6 inches. The chamber *MNN'M'* measures inside 18 ft. by 23 ft. The distance of *L* from the east curtain wall is 146 ft., that of *S* from the east curtain is 143 ft.; thus the north and south alignment of the Governor's House is very nearly parallel to the east curtain.

[1] This seems a little doubtful. The walls were very thick here, with a footing.

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The South Curtain Wall.

I now pass on to speak of the south curtain wall and the arcades built within it. This side of the fort was in all probability used for storing the Company's goods. As originally constructed it had only two parallel lines of arches built along the inside of the curtain forming a double arcade, and beyond these arcades (*i.e.*, on their north side) was an uncovered raised terrace 22 ft. broad. Afterwards a portion of this raised platform was covered in by a third arcade. It also seems to have been found necessary to strengthen the south curtain wall by building another wall against it to support it. Lastly, in 1741, export and import wall houses were built on outside the south curtain. Evidently this side of the fort was subject to a good deal of alteration, and for this reason, or it may be from a desire to make the fort appear more symmetrical than it really was, Wells's plan comes far short of its usual accuracy. I have, accordingly, had some difficulty in determining the topography of this side of the fort, but my doubts have all yielded to patient excavation. The key to their solution was the discovery of the third or innermost of the lines of arches parallel to the south curtain. After making a careful search in every likely direction where I might expect to come across them, I find that the third line of these arches was built on the alignment of what is now the north face of the waggon-shed in the Post Office yard. The foundations of this wall (D_3E_3) have been exposed. It is 2 ft. 6 in. thick, and is built against another smaller wall 10 in. thick which is in contact with it all along its south side, but does not bond with it. There can be no doubt about the meaning of this. The smaller wall contained a raised terrace or platform in front of the arcades D_1F_1, D_2F_2. This platform was at first left open, but was afterwards covered in by an arcade, and a thick wall was built against the thin wall containing the platform to support the arches of the new arcade. Clearly, then, this wall D_3E_3 is the foundation wall of the third row of arches parallel to the south curtain. If this be so there can be no doubt about the situation of the curtain and the two other parallel lines of arches, of which, in fact, portions still remain standing. In the yard of the General Post Office

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there is an old arcade and arches which at its west end joins on to a very old house. This old house has been lately used as the store-godown of the Post Office, and the arches serve for a shed to keep the Post Office waggons in. The north side of the waggon-shed, e_3i_3, is a modern wall constructed on the alignment of the third arcade wall of the old fort D_3E_3; but the two lines of arches, e_1i_1, e_2i_2 (of which the first, e_1i_1, forms the south face of the shed, and the second, e_2i_2, runs down its centre), are manifestly portions of the first and second lines of arches, D_1F_1, D_2F_2, which ran parallel to the south curtain of the old fort. This agrees with the traditions of the spot, and has been proved by my excavations. The arcade e_1i_1 i_2e_2 is a fragment. At its west end I find that four more of its pillars, i_3i_4 F_1F_2, are built into the old Post Office godown; and on opening up the ground to the east of the arcade I found that the line of arches e_2i_2 has a foundation wall which runs on eastward underground as $e_2e'_2$, and that the line of arches e_1i_1 rests on isolated brick piers which are also continued eastward, and one of which I was able to expose, e'_1.[1] Moreover, the arcade e_1i_1 i_2e_2 is a fragment of the old fort. It is built of the old thin bricks; the pillars are sunk deep below the present ground level. The foundation wall which carries the line of arches e_2i_2 is 3ft. 4 in. thick. The production of this wall e_2i_2 is at a distance of 22 ft. 6 in. internal measurement from the wall D_3E_3, which I have identified as the foundation wall of the third or innermost line of arches parallel to the south curtain. This is just the distance which Wells's plan shows between the third and the second lines of these arches, and hence I consider that e_2i_2 is a segment of the second line of arches. The pillars of these arches are 13 ft. 8 in. distant from each other from centre to centre. For similar reasons I identify the line of arches $e_1f_1f'_1g'_1g_1i_1$ as segment of the first of the lines of arches within the south curtain. The line of arches e_1f_1 is 19 ft. distant from the line of arches e_2f_2 by internal measurement. From e_1 to f_1, a distance of 42 ft. 9 in., it runs straight on parallel to e_2f_2. Then the whole line of arches is brought out 4 ft. 10 in. further south (f_1f_1). Then again it continues to run parallel to the wall e_2i_2 for 82 ft. 10 in. ($f'g_1'$),

[1] It is 3 ft. 7 ins. square at the top, and 4 ft. 8 ins. square at its base.

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after which it returns to its old alignment ($g_1 i_1$). Both as regards its distance from the wall $e_2 i_2$, which I have argued is the second line of arches parallel to the curtain, and as regards the irregularity of its conformation, the line of arches $e_1 f_1 f'_1 g'_1 g_1 i_1$ corresponds to the representation given in Wells's plan of the first line of arches within the south curtain, and I think there can be no doubt that it is a segment of that line of arches. Near the south-west corner of the old waggon shed a wall, *ik*, about 9 ft. thick projects in front of and parallel to the arches; another portion of it is hidden away in the old Post Office Store Godown. This is all that actually remains of the south curtain, but by opening up the ground in the yard of the Post Office I have been able to trace out its position and foundations. The original curtain wall was 3 ft. 2 in. thick. Within it—*i.e.*, on its north side—there was built another wall, which was intended to support and strengthen the curtain wall. This wall is irregularly constructed, and varies in thickness. At first it is about 3 ft. 8 in. thick with a space of 6 in. left in some places between it and the curtain wall. At *f* it ends in a buttress about 2 ft. 4 in. thick. The south curtain wall is met on its south face by a wall about 2 ft. 2 in. broad at a point *h*, 53 ft. distant from *k*, where the curtain is now cut away. The 2 ft. 2 in. wall runs southwards and a little to the eastwards for a distance of 24 ft., then it turns off eastwards. This wall is the wall shown in Wells's plan dividing the warehouses from the yard *ω*. Its discovery in the position indicated for it in Wells's plan places the identification of the south curtain wall beyond dispute.

I have already pointed out one serious inaccuracy in Wells's plan. He makes the east curtain inclined at an angle to the north and south alignment of the Governor's House in the Fort, whereas they really are parallel to each other. I have now to call attention to another serious inaccuracy in Wells's plan. I have shown that $D_3 E_3$ is the northernmost of the three lines of arches built inside the south curtain wall. Its distance from the centre of the east gate is 162 feet, whereas Wells makes it only 150 ft.

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The Writers' Buildings on the North Side of the Fort.

A regards the north side of the fort, I have not much to add to what Mr. Bayne discovered in 1883. I have, however, verified by excavation the position of the range of rooms which divided the fort into two, and which I believe to have been the 'Writers' Buildings' in the old fort. The south wall of these buildings, JG, is about 60 ft. distant from W, the north-west corner of the Governor's House. At J, 99 ft. from the west curtain wall, there is a passage through the block of buildings 15 ft. wide. The wall JG is 3 ft. 2 in. broad[1]; north of it, and parallel to it, at a distance of 19 ft. internal measurement, is a wall, J_1j_2. I also found a cross wall, j_2j_3, to the west of JJ_1, and distant from it 24 ft. internally. These cross walls, JJ_1 and j_2j_3 are 2 ft. 1 in. thick; J_1j_2 is 2 ft. thick. East of the passage we have no continuous wall corresponding with JG, but we find instead the bases of a row of columns, YZ. These bases are 11 ft. apart from centre to centre, and measure about 3 ft. by 2 ft. each. At a distance of 9 ft. internally from the row of columns, and parallel to it, is an inner wall, Y_1Z_1, 2 ft. thick. The wall YY_1 is 2 ft. 8 in. thick. I have not thought it necessary to trace out the walls YZ, Y_1Z_1 along their whole length. I have merely exposed Z_1, the termination of the wall Y_1Z_1, where it meets the wall Z_1Z. The south face of the wall Y_1Z_1 is here 22 ft. 6 in. distant from the wall of the present Custom House. Z_1 is also about 190 ft. from the centre of the east gate of the fort, and 30 ft. from the east curtain wall by internal measurement. The whole length of wall Y_1Z_1 internally is 174 ft. 6 in. The breadth of Y_1Z_1 and ZZ_1 is 2 ft. All these walls are of poor construction. The buildings here were, in fact, low, one-storied structures, as is evident from the old views of the fort. This also agrees with the supposition that they were inhabited by the writers, for we gather from the records[2] that their lodgings were very damp and unhealthy.

[1] I have not been able to trace this wall westwards from J for more than about 40 ft. At this point the remains became very confusing. I could only find a small wall 1 ft. 10 ins. broad, which met the thicker 3 ft. 2 ins. wall on its northern face, and which I traced westwards up to the west curtain.

[2] See a letter from the Court of Directors, February 11, 1756, paragraph 69, in Long's *Selections*.

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The West Curtain.

As regards the west curtain I have little to say. Its alignment was determined by Mr. Bayne. I have verified it by excavation at three different spots, X_1, X_2, X_3. At X_1, near the south-west bastion of the fort, the curtain wall is unusually thick, and measures 6 ft. This is probably due to the same cause which led to the strengthening of the south curtain wall in this direction.

The East Gate and the East Side of the Fort.

It now remains for me to speak of the east side of the fort. The central line of the east gate is 427 ft. from the corner of the north-east bastion, the position of which was fixed by Mr. Bayne in 1883. The gate measures internally 20 ft. from north to south, and 36 ft. from east to west. The east face measures externally 26 ft. 6 in. Its salient angles $B\ B'\ C'$, $B'\ C'\ C$ are angles of 120 degrees. The walls are 4 ft. thick. The south wall of the gate $C'\ C_1\ C_2$ was pierced by a drain which was met at an angle by a second drain running north-east.

On each side of the east gate there ran a double row of arches, A_1B_1, A_2B_2, and C_1D_1, C_2D_2, parallel to the east curtain wall AB, CD. The space between the curtain wall and the line of arches next to it (*i.e.*, between AB and A_1B_1 and between CD and C_1D_1) was divided up by cross walls into chambers. The second row of arches, A_2B_2, C_2D_2, supported the verandah or piazza which extended on each side of the gate before the ranges of chambers.

The Rooms North and South of the Gate.

As regards the rooms to the north of the gate between the east curtain and the line of arches A_1B_1, there is little to say. Wells's plan shows that the first cross wall occurred after the fifth arch. The arches thus cut off were left open to the verandah, and formed the north court of guard. But the whole interest of these investigations centres in the topography of the range of rooms on the other side of the gate where were situated the court of guard, the barracks, and the Black Hole spoken of by Orme and Holwell. There is no doubt about the position of the curtain wall (CD) and the parallel lines of arches within it (C_1D_1, C_2D_2). They have

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been traced out from the east gate right up to the north face of the General Post Office. The curtain wall CD is 3 ft. 9 in. thick. The foundation wall which carried the first line of arches, C_1D_1, is 2 ft. 9 in. thick; that which carries the second line of arches, C_2D_2, is 2 ft. 3 in. thick. Between the curtain wall and the wall C_1D_1 is a distance of 14 ft. 10 in., and between the curtain and C_2D_2 a distance of 31 ft. 3 in. from inside to inside. The wall C_2D_2 meets the wall D_3E_3 at a distance of 162 ft. from the centre of the east gate. So far the topography of this part of the fort is perfectly clear.

The Cross Walls South of the Gate.

There is, however, considerable difficulty in determining the positions of the cross walls which subdivided the space between CD and C_1D_1 into rooms. Here, as I noticed before, Wells's plan is quite inaccurate. It shortens the distance between the east gate and the south-east bastion, and so vitiates its whole representation of this corner of the fort. In the case of the cross walls it is not easy to check the errors of the plan by actual excavation, for we cannot always expect to find trace of the cross walls, which may have been very slightly constructed. As a matter of fact, only two cross walls have been actually discovered by excavation. One of these, dd_1, was found by Mr. Bayne in 1883, and was again brought to light by me in 1891. This wall is 1 ft. 6 in. thick, and is 145 ft. 6 in. from the centre of the east gate. Mr. Bayne thought that this wall was the north wall of the Black Hole; I shall show that it is probably the south wall of the prison. The other cross wall (bb_1) is a much more solid wall than the wall just described (dd_1). It is 2 ft. thick, and is at a distance of 100 ft. from the centre of the gate.

The position of two other cross walls may be inferred in the following way. A little to the south of cross wall bb_1 there was a subterranean chamber or vault $b'b'_1c'c'_1$ which attracted much notice when it was first discovered. Internally this vault measured 19 ft. 3 in. north and south, by 9 ft. 9 in. east and west. It was 7 ft. 2 in. deep. Its walls were 1 ft. 6 in. thick, and were covered with a hard coating of plaster. The floor over the vault was carried across by four beams, the holes where the ends of the

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beams rested being clearly visible. The west wall of the vault ($b'_1c'_1$) was built against the foundation wall of the first line of arches C_1D_1. The north face of the north wall of the vault $b'b'_1$ was 3 ft. 3 in. distant from the south face of the cross wall bb_1. The internal distance between the east wall of the vault ($b'c'$) and the curtain was 2 ft. 3 in. In this part of the curtain wall (bc) an iron grating was found, built up inside the brickwork of the wall just below the level of the floor. It seems to have served no special purpose. The south wall of the vault $c'c'_1$ was coated with plaster on both sides. Its north face was plastered down to the level of the floor of the vault. Its south face was plastered down to a foot below the level of the floor of the chambers along the east curtain. This would seem to show that wall $c'c'_1$ was continued up above the floor level so as to form a cross wall, cc_1, dividing up the space between bb_1 and dd_1, and I believe that this was so, because there must surely have been a cross wall between bb_1 and dd_1, and I do not see where else it could have been conveniently placed except above $c'c'_1$, as cc_1. The north face of this wall will be distant 126 ft. from the centre of the east gate.

There is somewhat similar evidence for the existence of another cross wall, aa_1, north of bb_1. Inside the curtain wall (at ab) there was built another wall, $a'a'_1$, 1 ft. 6 in. and 24 ft. long, which was carried up to within a foot of the floor level of the range of chambers along the east curtain. This wall and the north face of the wall bb^1 were plastered to a depth of about 7 ft. below the floor level almost to the foundation of the walls. This seems to show that there was another vault immediately north of the wall bb_1, and that the wall $a'a'_1$ carried the flooring of the room above. As the wall $a'a'_1$ is about 24 ft. long, I infer that this was the length of the vault and also of the room above it, and I think that at 24 ft. north of bb_1 there was another cross wall like bb_1, which, below the floor level, served as the north wall of a vault, and, above the floor level, was a cross wall sub-dividing the space between the curtain and C_1D_1.

In this way I have been able to prove by excavation the existence of four cross walls: aa_1, bb_1, cc_2, dd_1. But this is not enough. It is still necessary to consider whether, as Wells's plan implies,

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there were any other walls besides these four, and in particular whether there were any to the south of dd_1. For the Black Hole was the southernmost of the rooms built along this part of the east curtain. Consequently its site must be immediately to the north of the last cross wall, and its site is known if the position of the southernmost cross wall is known. I have accordingly traced out the wall C_1D_1, which contained the chambers built against this part of the east curtain, to a point, d'_1, 166 ft. from the centre of the east gate, where this containing wall stops. Beyond d'_1 there is only a small thin wall, built, I suppose, to contain a pavement. There could have been no cross walls beyond d'_1, and I have found no trace of any between d_1 and d'_1. It therefore follows that dd_1 is the southernmost cross wall. I have also traced out the east verandah wall C_2D_3 to D_3, 166 ft. from the centre of the east gate, where C_2D_3 meets the wall D_3E_3 which carried the third or innermost line of arches on the south side of the fort. Thus my excavations prove that dd_1 is the southernmost cross wall, and that it occurred at about 20 ft. north of the end of the containing wall C_1D_1, and also at about the same distance north of the junction of the verandah wall C_2D_3 with the third line of arches on the south side D_3E_3.

Comparison of Wells's Plan with the Results of Excavation.

This also agrees on the whole with Wells's plan, which represents the last cross wall as occurring about 16 ft, or 18 ft. north of the end of the containing wall and of the junction between the east verandah wall and the inner line of arches on the south side of the fort. Wells's plan, however, does not exactly agree with the results obtained by excavation as to distances, but this is accounted for by the fact that the length of the curtain wall between the east gate and the south-east bastion is too short by about 12 feet. Whoever it was who actually drew the plan, he did not discover his mistake till he came to put in the details of the rooms along the east curtain south of the gate. Then, finding that there was not sufficient room to put those details in properly, he crowded them in together. This, I think, is clearly the case with the cross walls. The discrepancies between Wells's plan

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and the results obtained by actual excavation may be exhibited as follows:

Wells's plan shows walls at 43, 70, 95, 108, 122, 135 ft.	from the centre of
Excavation shows walls at 75, 100, 126, 146 ft.	the East gate.

Looking at this comparative table, and remembering that Wells's distances are short of the true distances, we easily discover which walls correspond. The first cross wall shown by excavation (aa_1) corresponds to the second wall given in Wells's plan. The second cross wall shown by excavation (bb_1) corresponds to the third wall in Wells's plan. The fourth cross wall shown by excavation (cc_1) corresponds to the fifth wall in Wells's plan; and the last wall in Wells's plan corresponds to the last wall shown by excavation. The two missing walls not shown by excavation are the first cross wall of Wells's plan, which was the south wall of the barracks (μ), and the fourth wall of Wells's plan, which must have come between bb_1 and cc_1. This wall could not have been a very substantial one, as it must have been built over the subterranean chamber $b'b_1'\ c'c_1'$. The room π in Wells's plan, which is the southernmost of the series of rooms built within this part of the east curtain, and is, therefore, the Black Hole, corresponds with the space $cc_1\ dd_1$. This is the site of the Black Hole. As regards the staircase to the south-east bastion, I have unfortunately very little to say. This staircase is mentioned by Holwell, and is shown by Wells in his plan. It is a long staircase. Its head is put by Wells at about 8 feet from the south face of the southernmost cross wall, and its foot at a distance of about 50 ft. I have not been able to find any trace of it by excavation, but I see no reason for doubting its position to be correctly marked by Wells.

Arrangement of the Rooms along the East Curtain.

If I might be permitted to make a few conjectures I should arrange the rooms along the east curtain thus: The whole range of rooms is contained between the south wall of the east gate, CC_1C_2, and the cross wall dd_1, and between the east curtain, CD, and the first line of arches parallel in the curtain C_1D_1. The pillars of these arches were about 8 ft. 9 in. distant from each other from centre

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to centre. West of them came a second parallel line of arches C_2D_2, forming the piazza before the rooms. The first of the cross walls dividing off the rooms occurred after the fourth arch in the first line of arches C_1D_1. Thus it would be about 35 ft. distant from the wall CC_1C_2. These four arches were left quite open to the piazza west of them, and formed the court of guard south of the gate. Three arches further on was another cross wall aa_1. If this wall occurred exactly after the seventh of the first line of C_1D_1, and I am right in believing that these arches measured 8 ft. 9 in. from centre to centre, then the centre of the cross wall aa_1 would be 61 ft. 3 in. from the south face of the wall CC_1C_2. If we rely on the evidence of the excavations, its north face was 60 ft. 3 in. from the south face of CC_1C_2. The next cross wall, bb_1, occurred after the tenth arch. As shown by the excavations, its north face was 86 ft. distant from the south face of the wall CC_1C_2, or, if we reckon its distance according to the arches, its centre will be 87 ft. 6 in. from CC_1C_2. I have argued that another cross wall, cc_1, was 126 ft. distant from the centre of the east gate—that is, its north face is 112 ft. from the south face of CC_1C_2; and if we reckon that this wall came after the thirteenth arch, its centre will be 118 ft. 9 in. from CC_1C_2. The last cross wall, dd_1, is 131 ft. 6 in. from CC_1C_2, or, if we reckon that it came after the fifteenth arch, its centre would be about 131 ft. 3 in. distant. The room cut off by the walls cc_1, dd_1, is the Black Hole. It measured internally 18 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in. It was bounded on the east by the curtain, on the south by the wall dd_1, on the north by the wall cc_1, and on the west by the fourteenth and fifteenth arches of the first line of arches parallel to the east curtain, C_1D_1. These two arches were bricked up, and only a window was left in the centre of each. Along the east wall of the Black Hole was a wooden platform about 6 ft. broad, and raised 3 or 4 ft. from the ground, open underneath. It probably projected from the east wall as far as the door in the north wall, cc_1. This door opened inwards. The three rooms between the court of guard and the Black Hole were the barracks. They were bounded on the east by the curtain wall, along which ran a wooden platform similar to that in the Black Hole. The nine arches which bounded the barracks on the south (*i. e.*, the fifth to

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the thirteenth arches inclusive) were partially closed by a dwarf wall, or, as Holwell calls it, a parapet wall. The rooms opened one into another, and a door in the wall cc_1 led to the Black Hole. South of the Black Hole there were no more rooms, the remaining space being taken up by a straight staircase, 50 ft. long, built against the east curtain wall, leading to the south-east bastion.

I believe that this arrangement of the rooms will satisfy all the requirements of Holwell's narrative. The barracks, according to him, would have been a fairly comfortable place for 146 persons to spend the night in. I make the whole area of the barracks to be 72 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in. This gives 7 sq. ft. 45 sq. in. for each individual. The area of Black Hole is 18 ft. by 14 ft. 10 in. This allows just 267 sq. ft. of area for 146 persons, or less than 2 sq. ft. each.[1]

Difference between these Views and those of Mr. Bayne.

The result of all this fresh discussion is to place the site of the Black Hole prison immediately to the north of the site fixed for it by Mr. Bayne, so that Mr. Bayne's conclusion was not so far wrong. Mr. Bayne, however, arrived at his conclusion from two utterly false premises. His first premise was that the south-east corner of the fort was just like the north-east corner. This was completely refuted by Mr. Munro in 1889 when he produced Wells's plan of the fort. Mr. Bayne's second premise was, that the dimensions of the fort stated by Orme in the text of his history and shown in the accompanying plan were absolutely correct, and Mr. Bayne still held to this belief even though he discovered that there was an error somewhere in Orme's plan when he tried to superpose it upon Simms's Survey of Calcutta. The excavations which I have made prove that the dimensions given by Orme are only approximately correct, accurate enough for the purposes of his history, but not accurate enough for the

[1] The only cross wall shown in Wells's plan which I have not accounted for is the wall between the rooms *v* and *o*. If what I have said as to the other cross walls is correct, this cross wall should come between bb_1 and cc_1. It could not then have been a substantial wall, as it would have been built over the subterranean chamber $b'b'_1c'c'_1$. Could this wall have been meant for the wall $b'b'_1$?

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purpose of settling minute points of topography. Fortunately for Mr. Bayne, the errors of his two premises counteracted each other, and thus, when he made an excavation in the passage north of the General Post Office, where he expected to find the Black Hole, he actually did come across one of its walls. But, like words, walls cannot be interpreted apart from their context. Mr. Bayne was prevented at the time from finding the right context, and he therefore failed to understand these walls; I have merely been more fortunate in my opportunities, and have been able to secure the right context.

Miscellaneous Points.

Only a few more miscellaneous points as to the topography of the old fort remain to be mentioned. Besides the two drains already spoken of, which I found by the east gate, I also came across a piece of another old surface drain running along the west side of the verandah which extended before the chambers built inside the east curtain. This drain is 4 ft. wide at the top and 2 ft. at the bottom. Its eastern edge is 5 ft. distant internally from the verandah wall C_2D_2. There is also an old well about 50 ft. east of the east wall of the Governor's House in the fort, and 23 ft. south of its central line, which may have been part of the old building. The main walls of the buildings are brick in lime, the minor walls are brick in mud. The parade ground is paved with brick on edge over one flat, covered with six inches of concrete. Its level was visible everywhere in section. If we reckon the level of the curb-stone of the foot-path in Dalhousie Square as 100 ft., then the level of the parade ground would be 98·07 ft.—*i.e.*, a little less than 2 ft. lower down. The level of the floors of the rooms varied. The level of the floor over the subterranean vault was 99·24 ft. At about the middle of the set of rooms built along the east curtain it was 98·5 ft.

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A reproduction of an engraving by Gerard Vandergucht, 1736, from a painting by George Lambert and Samuel Scott, now at the India Office, Westminster.

II. ANOTHER VIEW.

Reproduced from an engraving by I. Van Ryne, published in 1754.

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IV. PLAN OF CALCUTTA AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, 1742.

From a MS. drawing by Foresti and Ollifres in the British Museum (K cxv. 40).

V. BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED'S PROJECTED FORTIFICATION IN 1747.

From the Orme MSS. (P.V. ii. 15) in the India Office Library.

VI. PLAN OF CALCUTTA WITH THE PALISADES.

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From the Orme MSS. (P.V. ii. 14) in the India Office Library. In Orme's list it is described as 'done for Scrafton: very imperfect.'

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Reproduced from the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. 52, part 1.

XXIII. ROUGH SKETCH OF THE REMAINS OF THE N.E. BASTION, BY ROSKELL BAYNE.

Reproduced from the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. 52, part 1.

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From a photograph.

XXVI. REMAINS OF THE WALL AND GUN PLATFORMS, 1896.
From a photograph.

XXVII. REMAINS OF THE S.W. BASTION, 1896.
From a photograph.

XXVIII. ANOTHER VIEW OF THE SAME.
From a photograph.

XXIX. PLAN SHOWING C. R. WILSON'S EXCAVATIONS, 1896.

XXX. SITE OF THE BLACK HOLE.
From a photograph.

XXXI. THE HOLWELL MONUMENT AS RE-ERECTED BY LORD CURZON.
From a photograph.

XXXII. PLAN OF THE OLD FORT WITH THE EXISTING BUILDINGS, 1903.

XXXIII. PLAN OF FORT WILLIAM, 1756.

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BILLING AND SONS LTD., PRINTERS, GUILDFORD

Fort William at Bengall.

PL. I.

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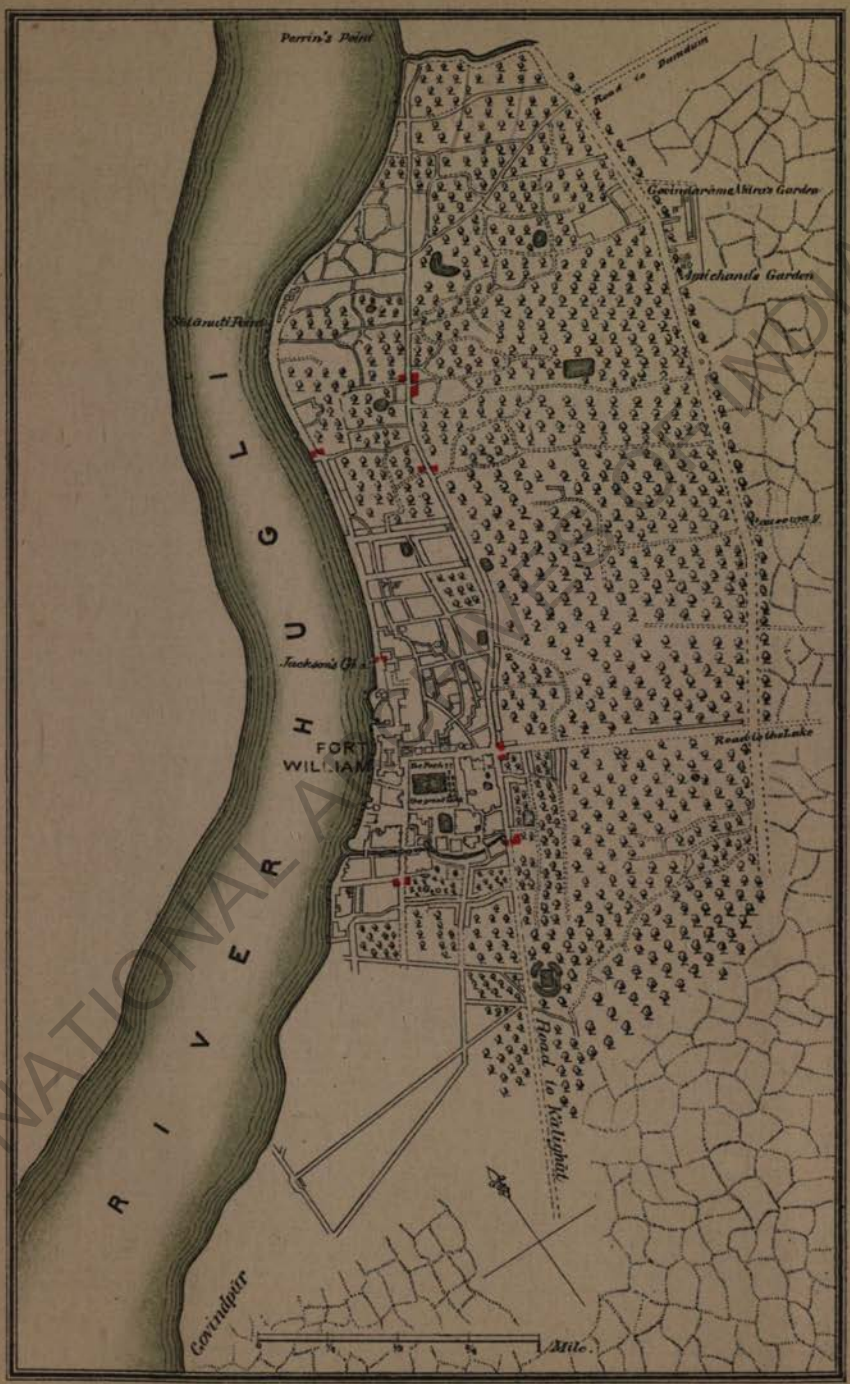
Fort William in the Kingdom of BENGAL.
Belonging to the East India Company of England.

Le Fort Guillaume dans le Royaume de BENGAL.
Appartenant a la Compagnie Angloise des Indes Orientales.

PL. II.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



CALCUTTA IN 1742, SHOWING THE SEVEN BATTERIES.

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PLAN OF CALCUTTA AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY, 1742.

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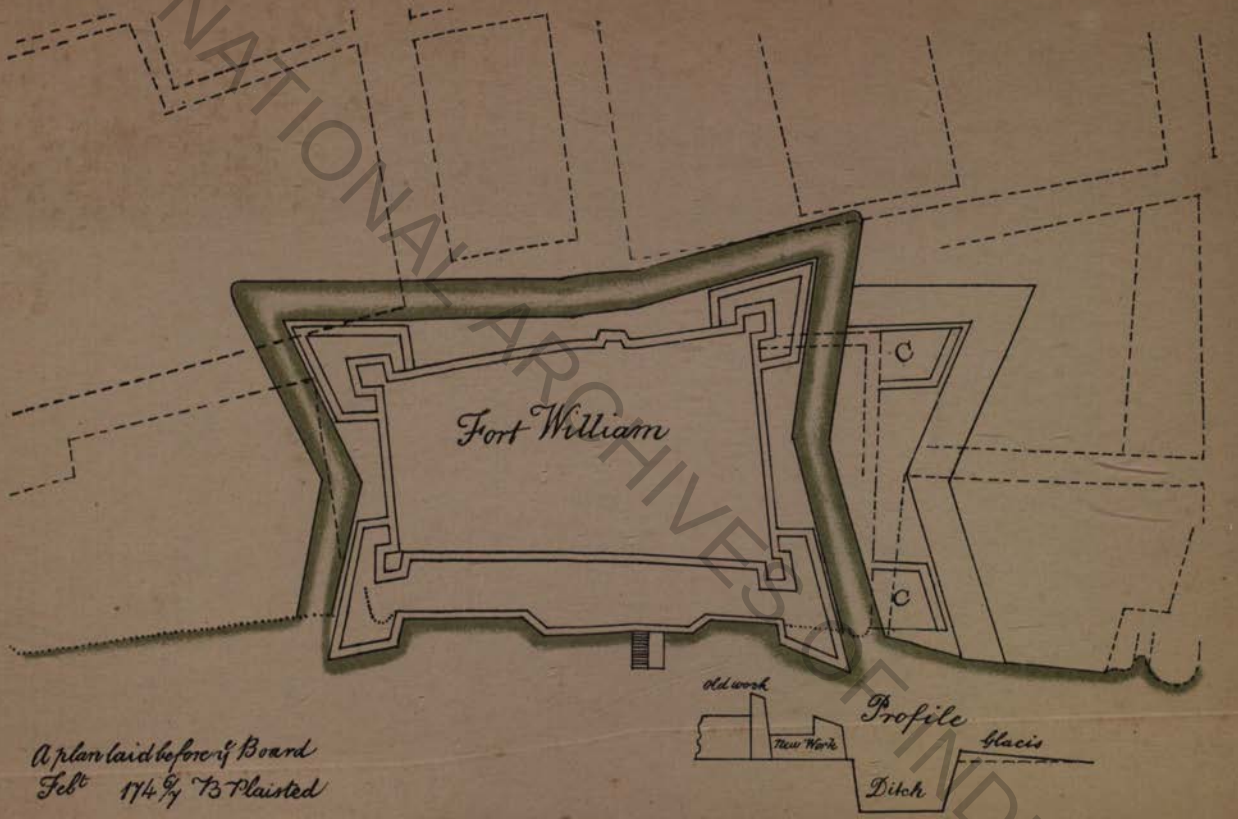

A plan laid before ye Board Febr 17 4 6/7 by Plaisted

PL. V.

BARTHOLOMEW PLAISTED'S PROJECTED FORTIFICATION, IN 1747.

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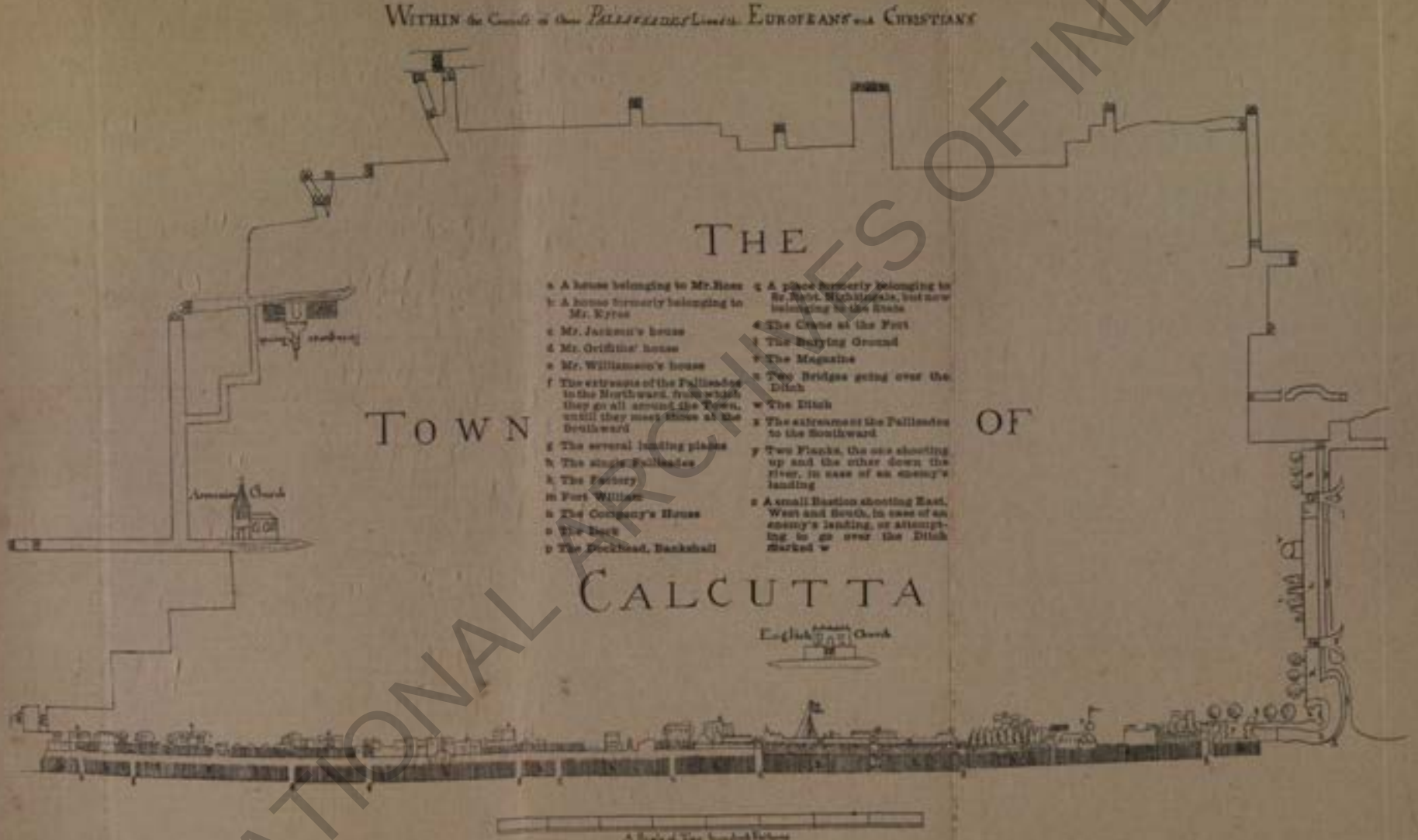
WITHIN the Council of these PALLISADES Lives the EUROPEANS and CHRISTIANS
THE
TOWN OF
CALCUTTA
a A house belonging to Mr. Rose
b A house formerly belonging to Mr. Eyres
c Mr. Jackson's house
d Mr. Griffiths' house
e Mr. Williamson's house
f The extremes of the Pallisades to the Northward, from which they go all around the Town, until they meet those at the Southward
g The several landing places
h The single Pallisades
k The Factory
m Fort William
n The Company's House
o The Bars
p The Dockhead, Bankshall
q A place formerly belonging to Sr. Robt. Nightingale, but now belonging to the State
r The Crane at the Fort
t The Burying Ground
v The Magazine
x Two Bridges going over the Ditch
w The Ditch
z The extremes of the Pallisades to the Southward
y Two Flanks, the one shooting up and the other down the river, in case of an enemy's landing
z A small Bastion shooting East, West and South, in case of an enemy's landing, or attempting to go over the Ditch marked w
English Church
Armenian Church

PLAN OF CALCUTTA WITH THE PALISADES.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE CHURCH
FORT WILLIAM
THE FACTOREY
EXPORT AND IMPORT WARE-HOUSES
COMPANY'S HOUSE
MR. HOLWELL
MR. DOUGLASS
POWDER MAGAZINE
THE BURYING PLACE
THIS YELLOW SHEWETH THE NEW PROJECTED WALL, WITH ITS MOAT, BREST-WORK, FOOT BANK, YE COVER'D WAY, ITS REDOUTS, TRAVERSES, AND SLOPE.
N. B. - THE GATES, BRIDGES, OUTLETS FROM THE COVER'D WAY, BARRACKS, &C., ARE REFFER'D TO A LARGER PLAN.
SCALE 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 FT

PLAN OF FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA, 1753, WITH A PROJECT FOR THE FORTIFYING THE FORT.

PL. VII.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PLAN OF FORT WILLIAM AND PART OF THE CITY OF CALCUTTA.

SURVEYED AND DRAWN BY WILLIAM WELLS,
LIEUTENANT OF THE ARTILLERY COMPANY
IN BENGAL,
IN THE YEAR 1756.

SCALE OF FEET

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CALCUTTA TOWN IN 1756.

PL. IX.

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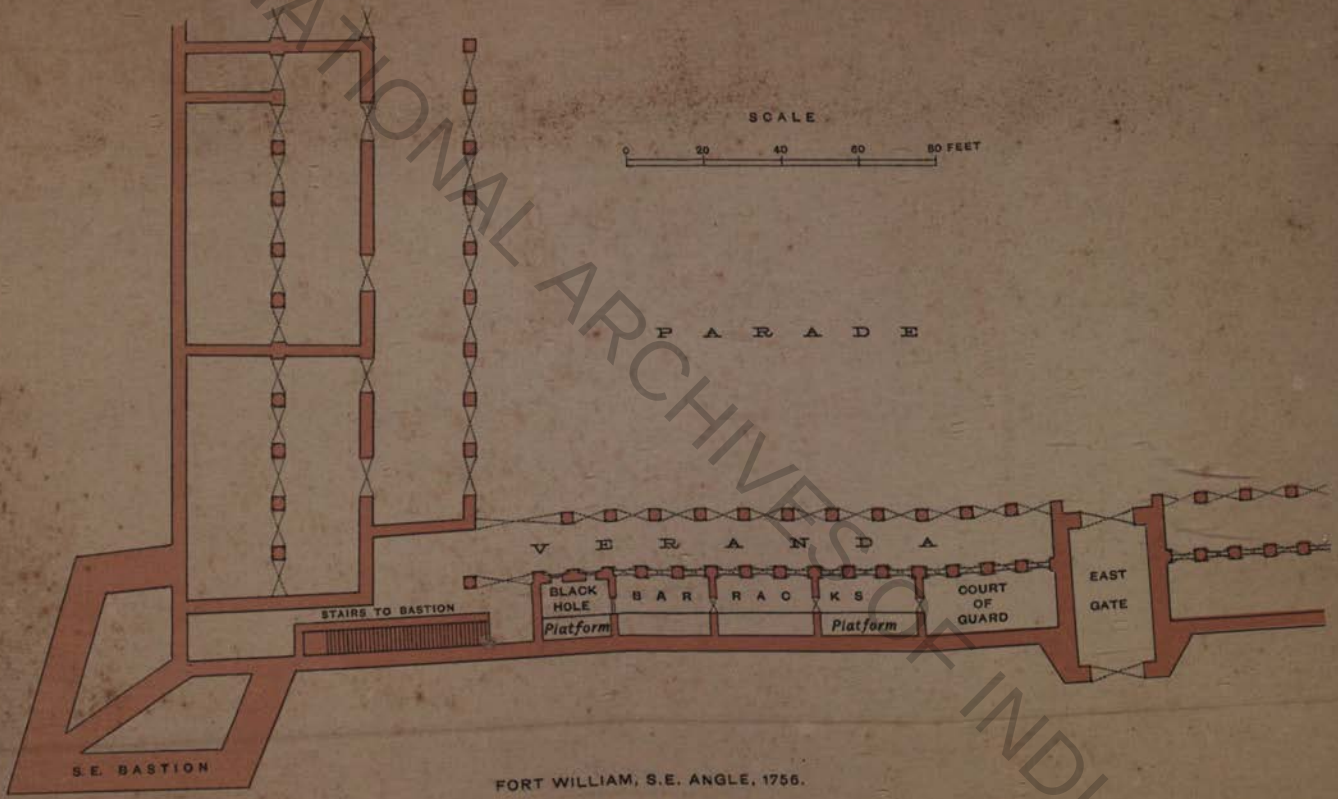
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



FORT WILLIAM, S.E. ANGLE, 1756.

PL. XI.

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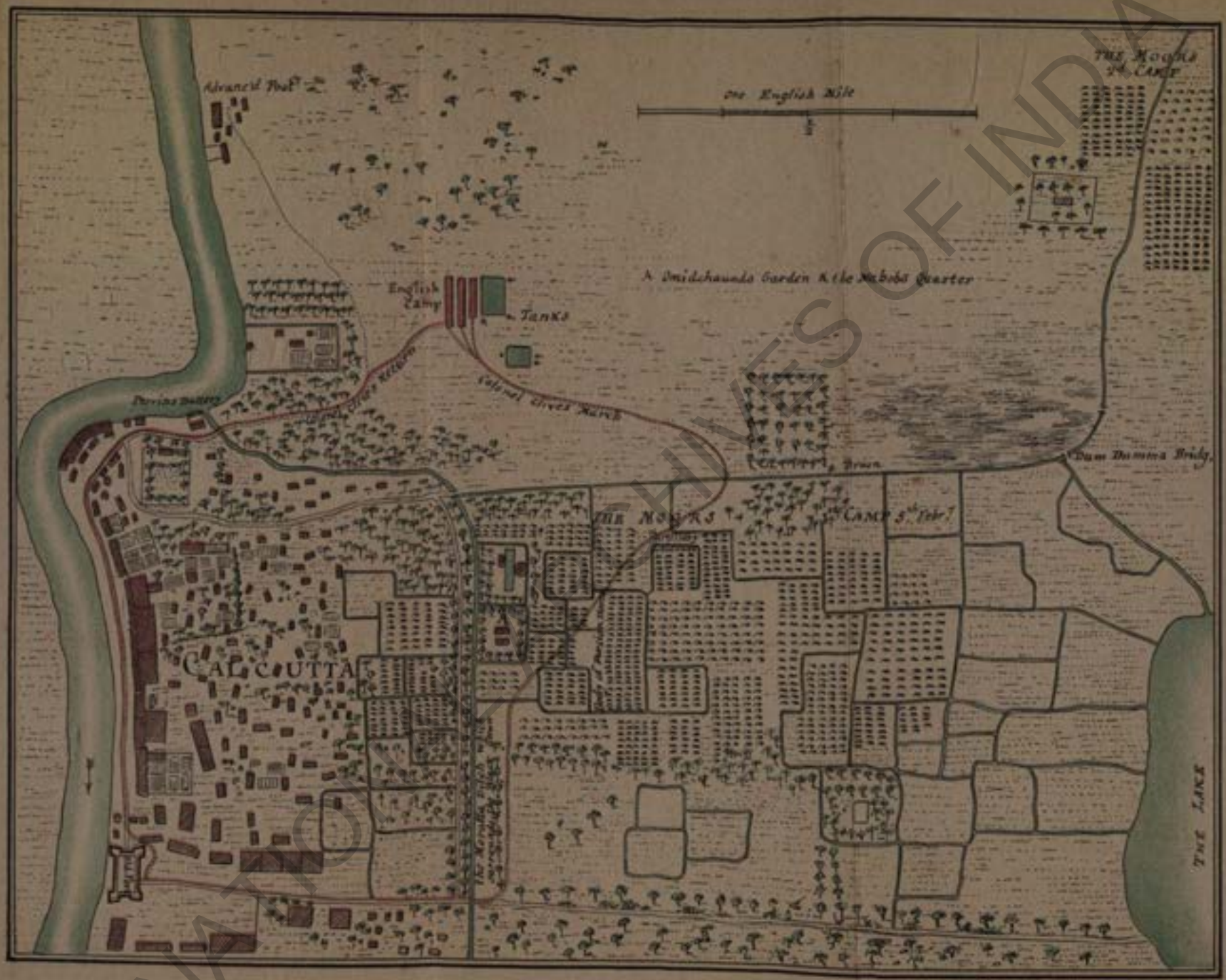

SCRAFTON'S PLAN OF CALCUTTA.

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PL. XIII.

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HOLWELL'S MONUMENT AS ORIGINALLY DESIGNED.

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FORT WILLIAM AND WRITERS' BUILDINGS, IN 1786, AFTER DANIELL.

PL. XV.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

FORT WILLIAM, EAST FACE, IN 1786, AFTER DANIELL.

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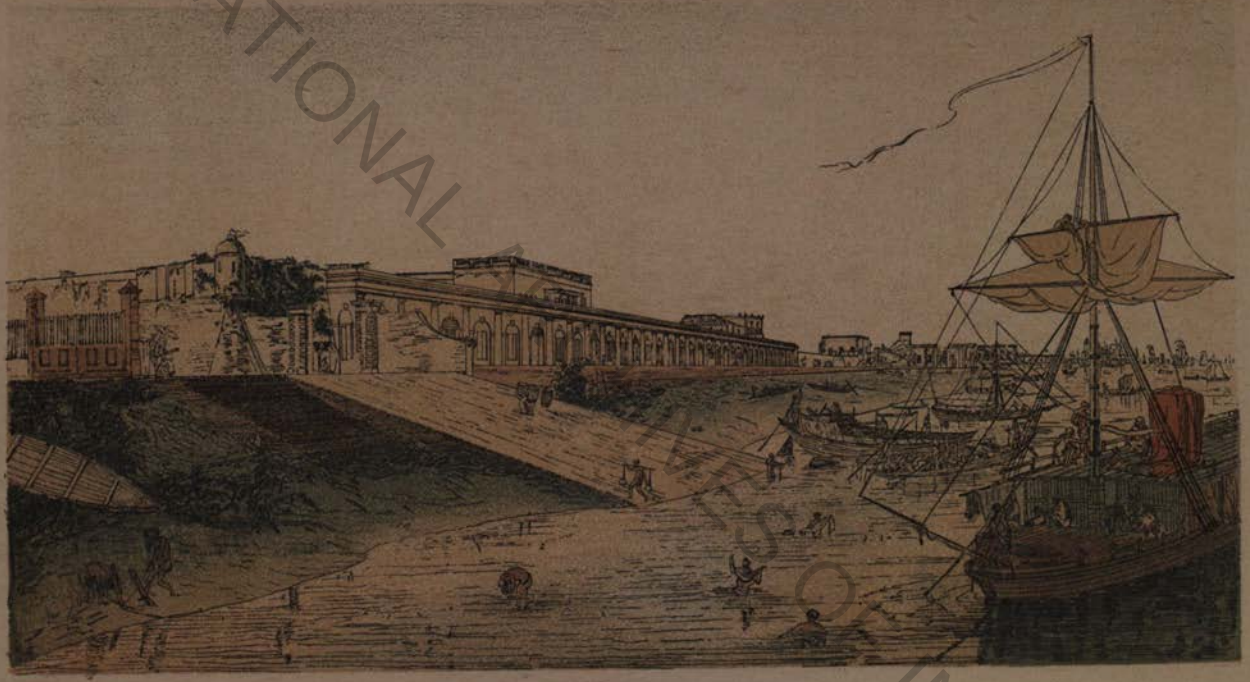
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



FORT WILLIAM, RIVER FACE, IN 1787, AFTER DANIELL.

PL. XVII.

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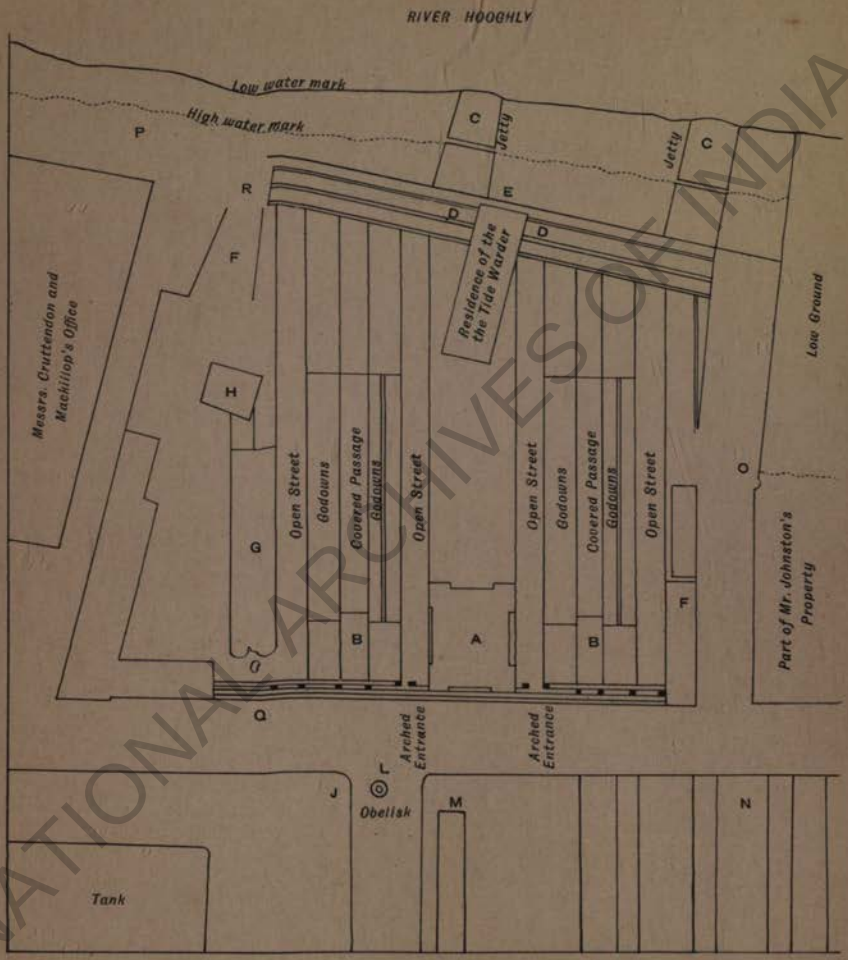

SCALE 235 FEET TO 1 INCH.

PLAN OF THE CUSTOM HOUSE, 1819.

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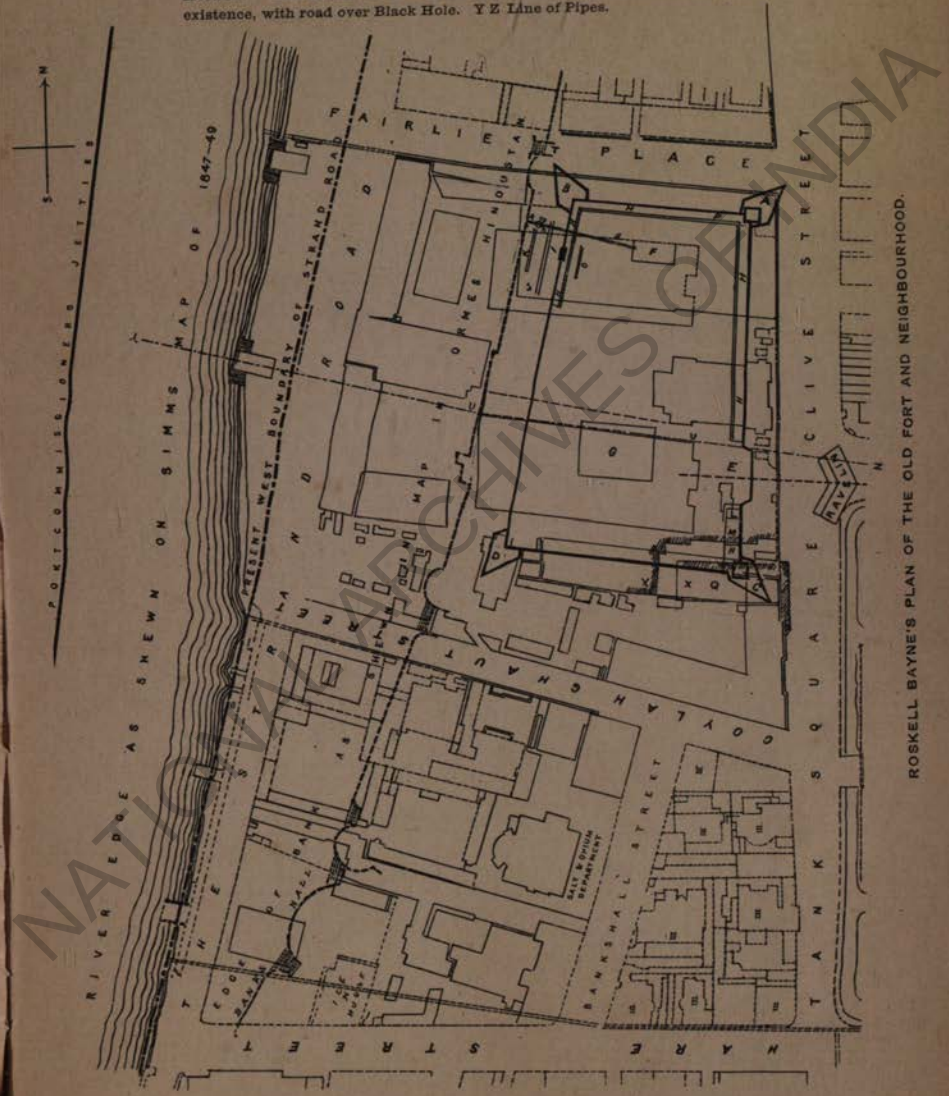
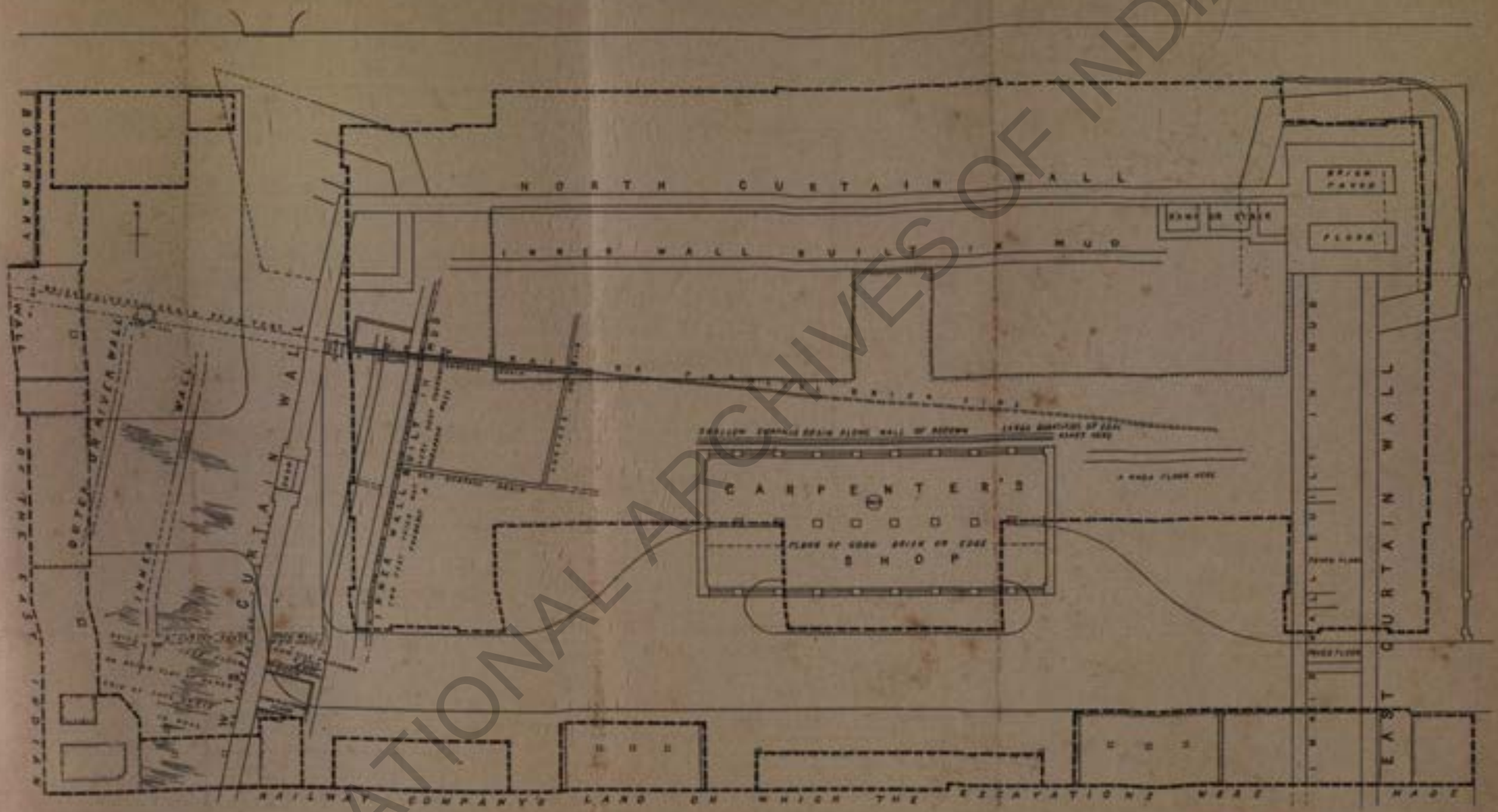
A B C D The four Bastions. E Entrance from the East. F Carpenter's Shop. G Governor's House. H H Inner space behind curtain. I N.W. River Gate. J J Outer Ramparts. K Outer or River Wall. L Corps de Garde. M Barracks. N Black Hole Prison. O Verandah Wall. P Stair to Roof. Q Stair mentioned by Holwell. R R Drain. S New Well. T Pucca Ghaut. X X Buildings now in existence, with road over Black Hole. Y Z Line of Pipes.


N
S
POST COMMISSIONERS JETTIES
RIVER EDGE AS SHEWN ON SIMMS MAP OF 1847-49
PRESENT WEST BOUNDARY OF STRAND ROAD
STRAND ROAD
FAIRLIE PLACE
CLIVE STREET
TANK SQUARE
HARE STREET
BANKSHALL STREET
GOVERNMENT PLACE
THE OLD FORT
GOVERNMENT PLACE
MAP OF BUILDINGS
SALT & OPIUM DEPARTMENT
POST OFFICE
BANK
BANK
BANK



ROSKELL BAYNE'S EXCAVATIONS, 1882.

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LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY

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SECTION OF WALL OF CARPENTER'S SHOP SHEWING FLOORS AND LEVELS OF THREE DATES. a. b. a

SECTION OF OLD DRAIN WITH MODERN DRAIN OVER IT, BOTH FILLED IN, AND MACADAM ROAD OVER IT.

THE LOWER BEING THE DRAIN OF THE OLD FORT. THE UPPER OF A LATER DATE.

SECTION OF NORTH CURTAIN WALL.

REMAINS OF OLD FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

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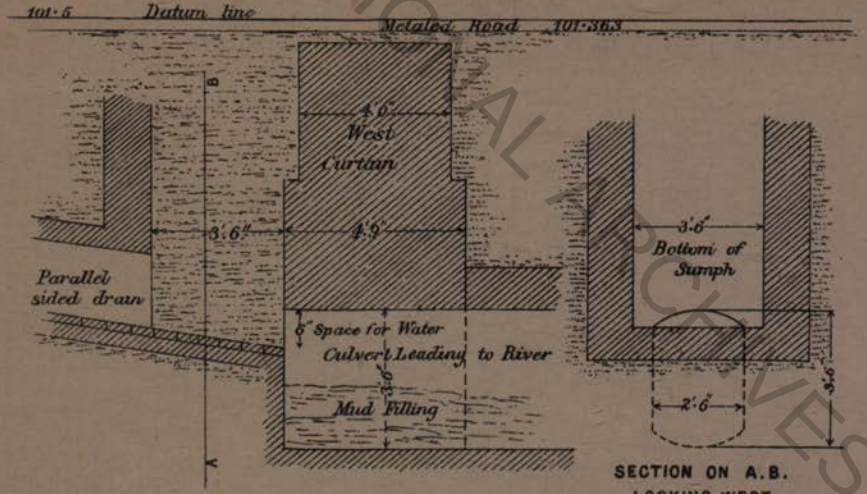
END OF DRAIN CULVERT AND SUMPH THROUGH W. CURTAIN



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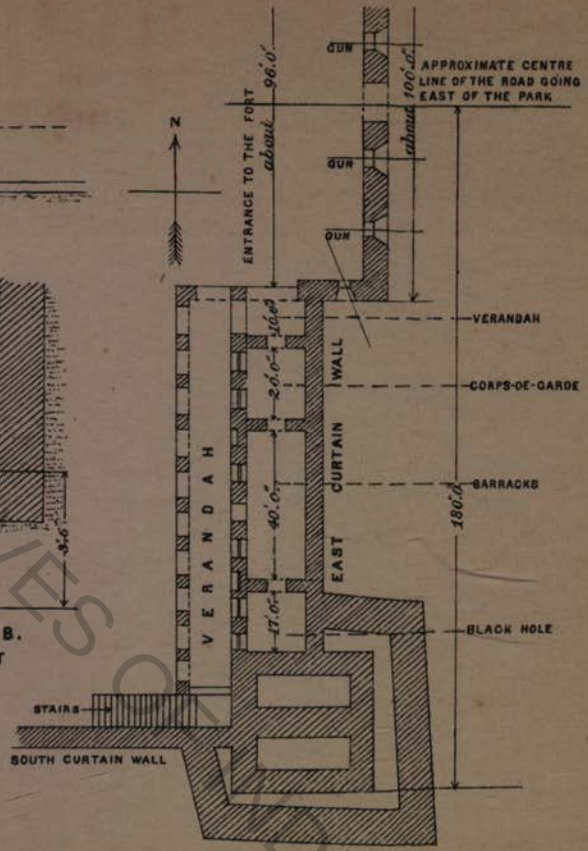
LOOKING SOUTH

SECTION ON A.B.
LOOKING WEST



PLAN OF S.E. BASTION WITH CONJECTURED
ARRANGEMENT OF BLACK HOLE.

REMAINS OF OLD FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA.

PL. XXII.

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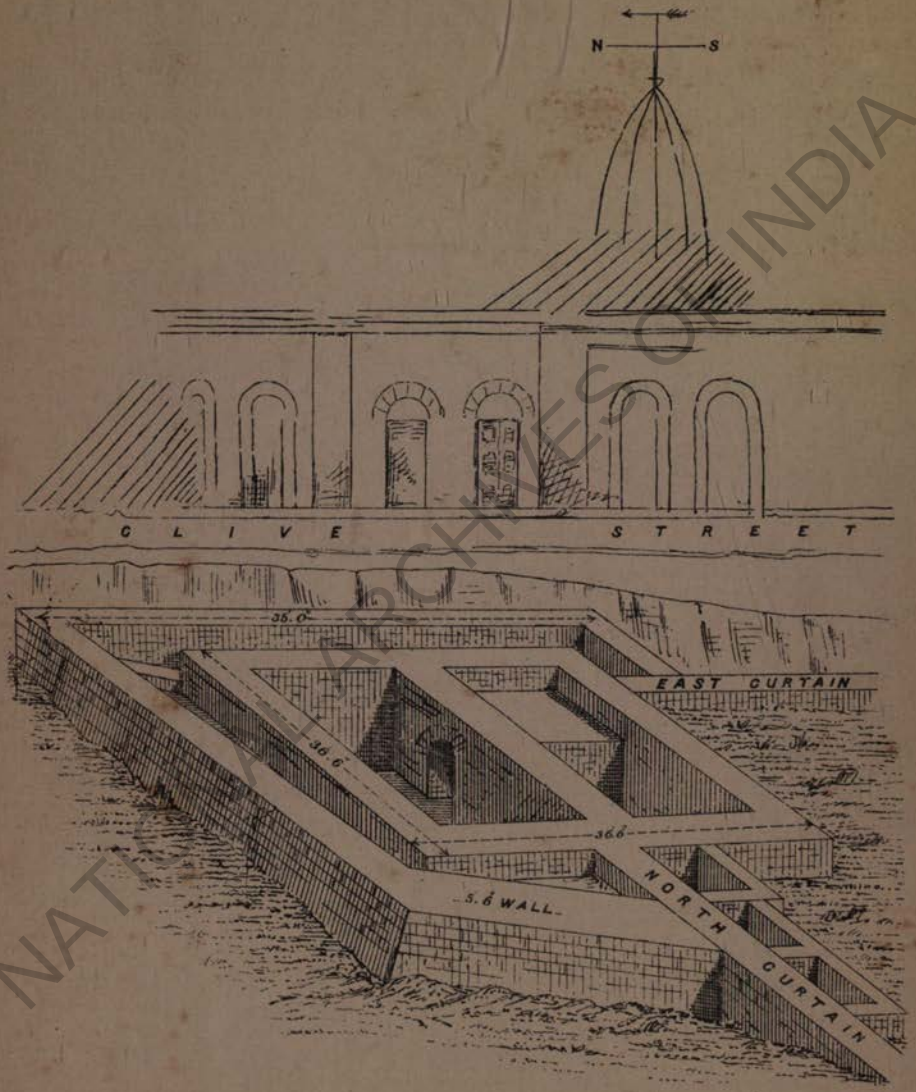

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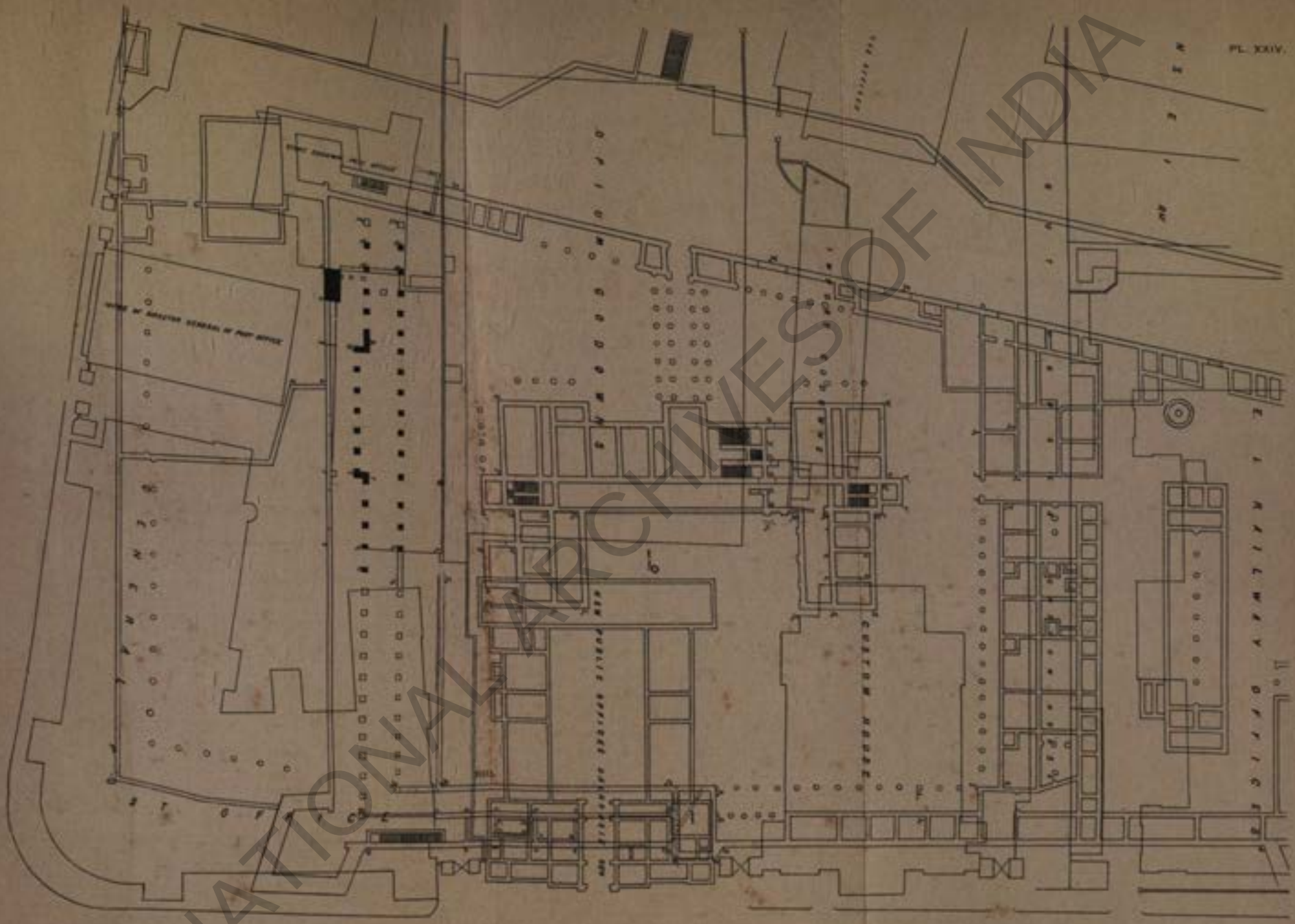
ROUGH SKETCH OF THE REMAINS OF THE N.E. BASTION BY R. BAYNES.



C. R. WILSON'S EXCAVATIONS, 1902

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

RAZING THE OLD FORT IN 1895.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

REMAINS OF THE WALL AND GUN PLATFORMS, 1896.

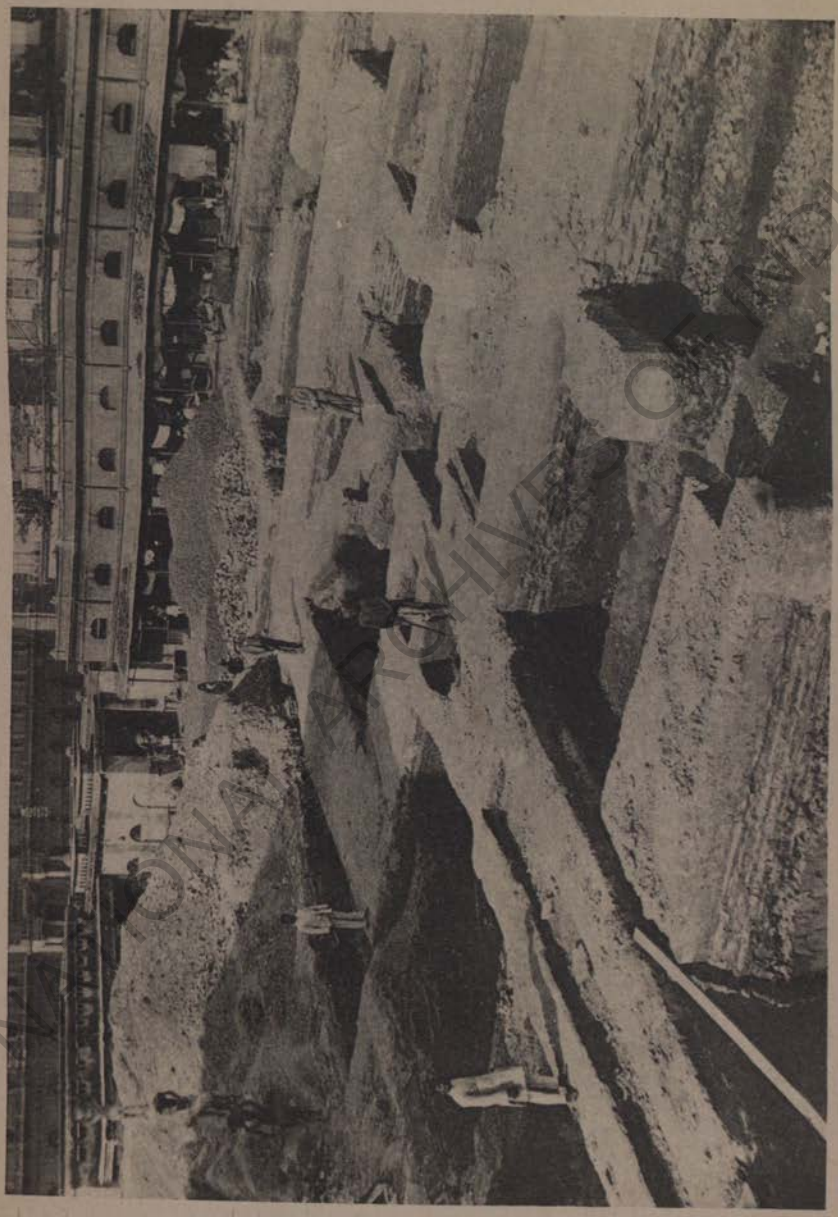
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

REMAINS OF THE S.W. BASTION, IN 1896.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

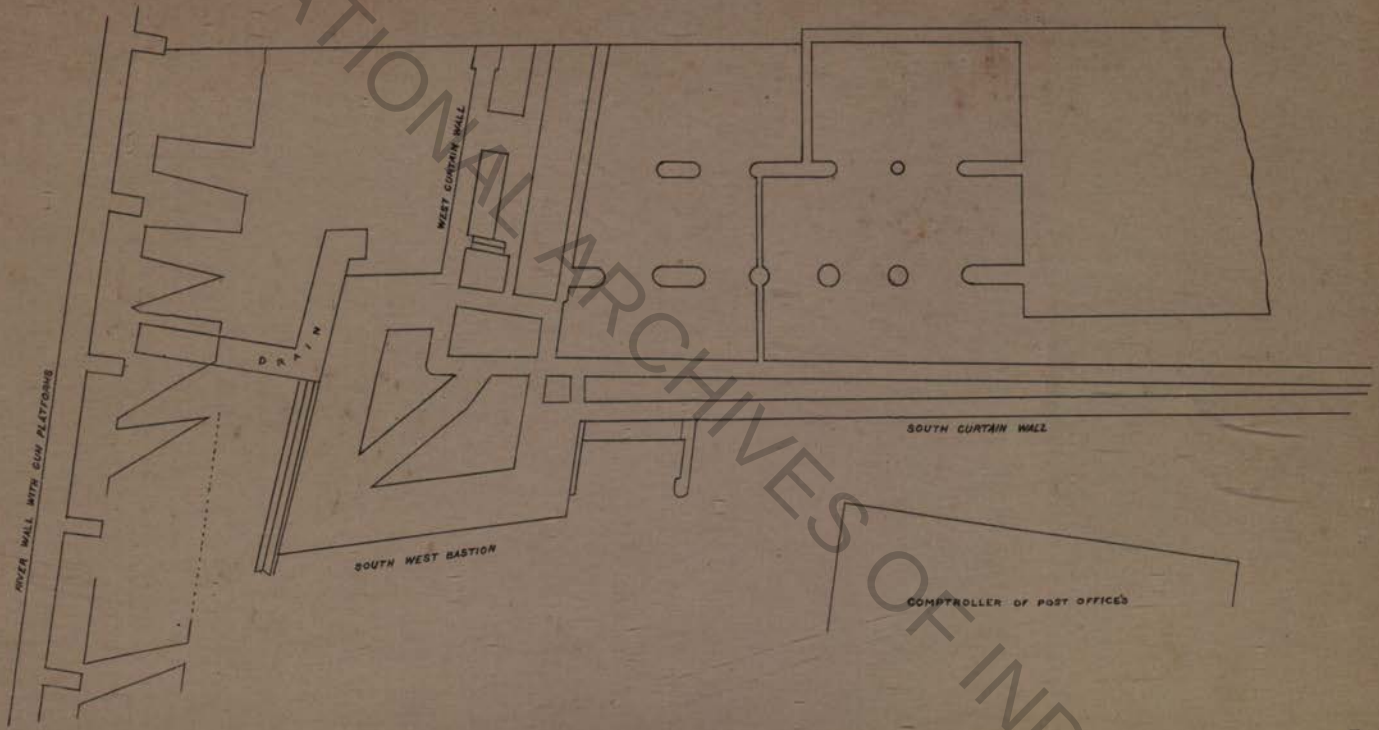
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



REMAINS OF THE S.W. BASTION, IN 1896, ANOTHER VIEW.

ARCHIVE OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



C. R. WILSON'S EXCAVATIONS. 1896.

PL. XXIX.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SITE OF THE BLACK HOLE.

PL. XXX.

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THE HOLWELL MONUMENT AS RE-ERECTED BY LORD CURZON.

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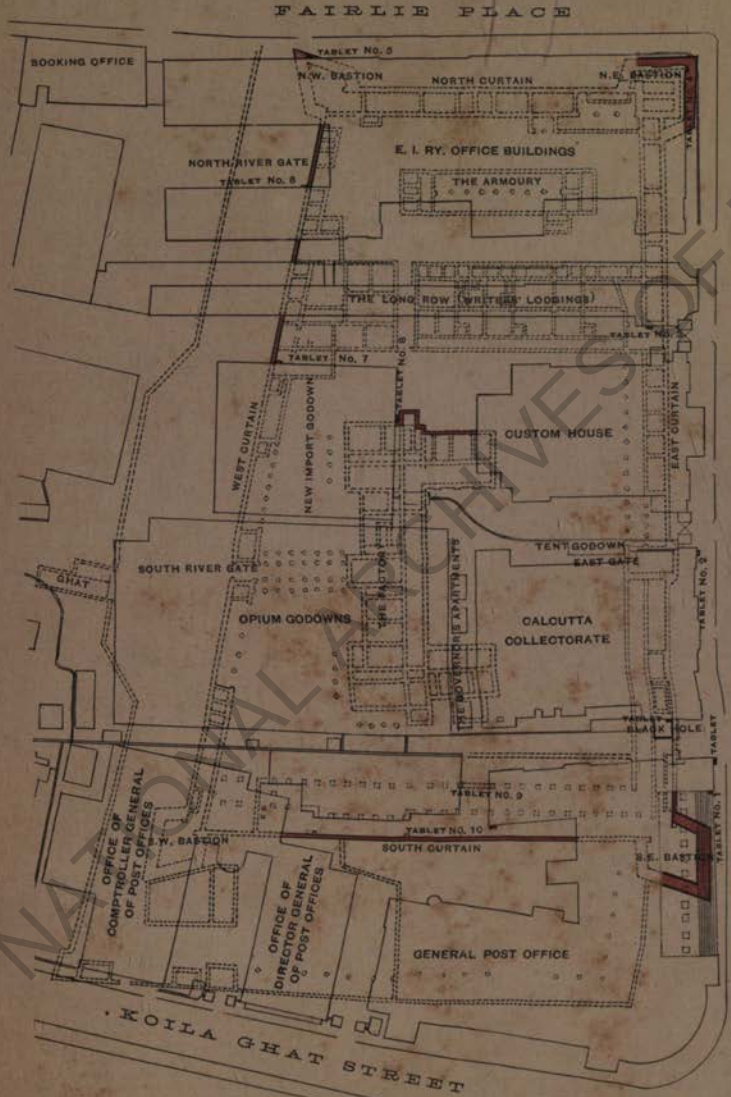

PLAN OF THE OLD FORT WITH THE EXISTING BUILDINGS, 1903.

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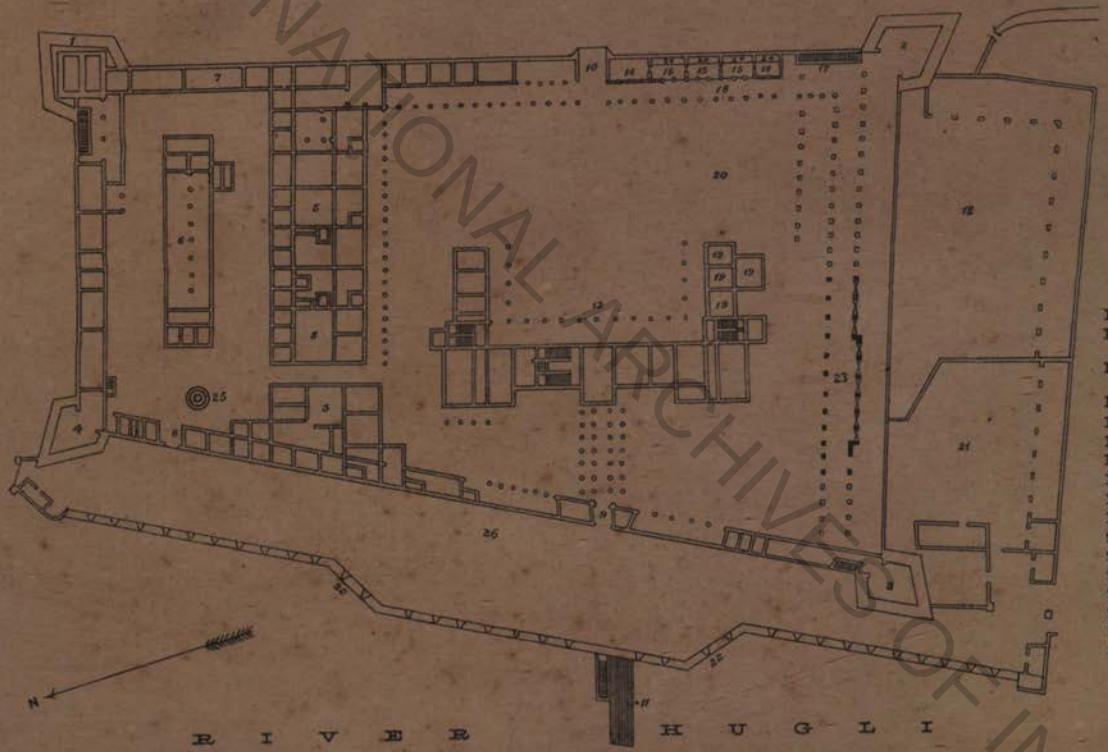

REFERENCES.

1 N.E. Bastion
2 S.E. Bastion
3 S.W. Bastion
4 N.W. Bastion
5 Writers' Buildings
6 Armoury
7 Laboratory
8 North River Gate
9 South River Gate
10 East Gate
11 Landing Stage Stairs and Crane
12 Export and Import Warehouses
13 Governor's House
14 Court of Guard
15 Barracks
16 Black Hole
17 Stairs to S.E. Bastion
18 Verandah
19 Governor's Apartments
20 Parade
21 Carpenter's Yard
22 River Wall
23 Arcades still standing
24 Wooden Platform
25 Flagstaff
26 Wharf

FORT WILLIAM, 1756.

PL. XXXIII.

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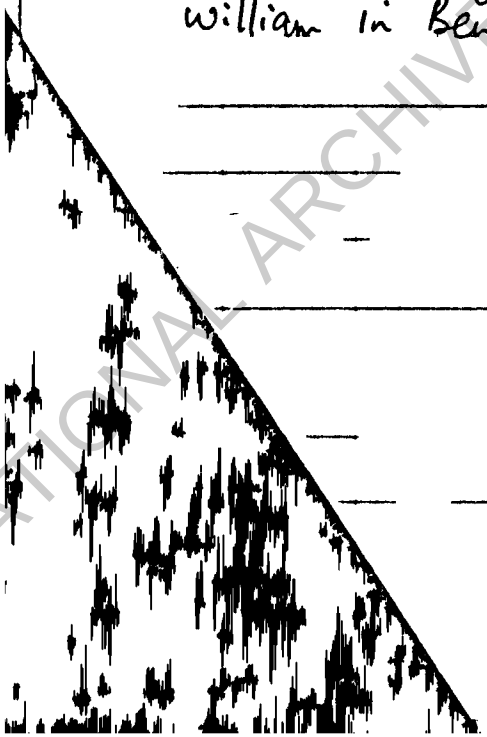
Wilson, C. R.

old fort
william in Bengal.



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